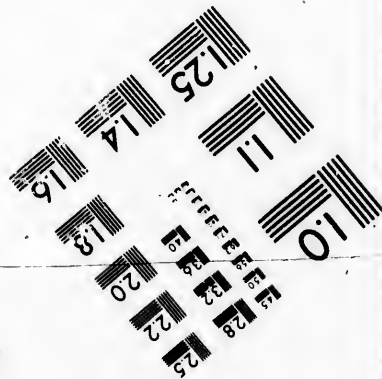
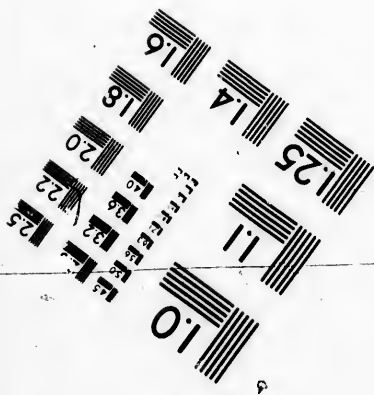
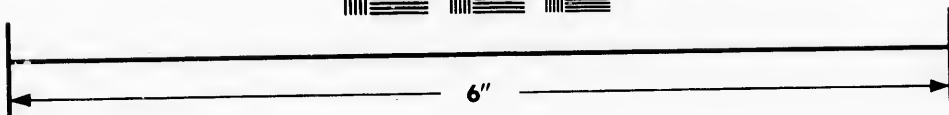
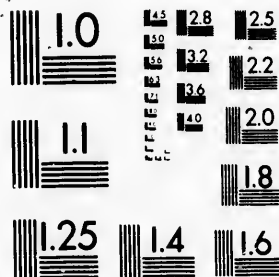


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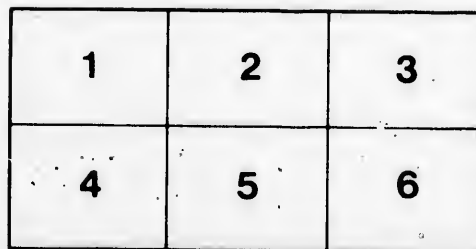
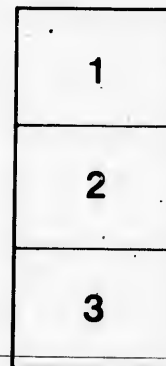
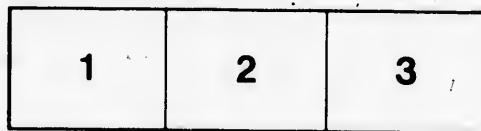
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DEBATE

THE SENATE

THE RESOLUTIONS

AMPROVED

BRITISH COLUMBIA.

REPORTED BY

J. G. BOURINOT,

SHORT-HAND WRITER TO THE SENATE, &C.



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# DEBATE IN THE SENATE

ON THE RESOLUTIONS RESPECTING

## BRITISH COLUMBIA.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL then rose and proposed the Resolutions providing for the admission of British Columbia into the Union with the following speech: In bringing the subject before the House, I am quite aware that hon. gentlemen have not only studied it, but have had an opportunity of hearing a great deal of discussion on the question in the House of Commons and reading many articles in the public press. Still, I think we may very well consider, before going into details, the general importance of the question and the magnitude of the interests involved in the passage of the resolutions. I do not for one moment shut my eyes to the amount of the undertaking which the Dominion will necessarily have to perform. But all those who took part in the original framing of Confederation—all those who have since given their acquiescence to the project—have constantly had before them this ulterior object, they have desired to see the Provinces and Colonies constituting British America united into one great country stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific. This is shown not only by the debates which took place at the Conference at Quebec but also in a direct and authoritative way by the resolutions which were the result of the conference. It is shown also by the language which is used in the British North America Act of 1867—the constitutional Act of this country at this time. From these facts it will be seen that the idea of developing her Majesty's dominions on this continent by the union of all British America, has been certainly kept in view. Both those who advocated union originally and those who have now on account of its adoption given their assent to it, have been and are still of the opinion that we should stretch our dominions across to the Pacific and

endeavour to form one country under one Parliament, as the only way of maintaining on the continent those institutions and that form of Government which we believe to be the best calculated to promote our happiness and prosperity. It cannot, then, be denied that the admission of British Columbia is an essential part of the scheme of Confederation, and without it we could not look for the full development of the political, material and industrial advantages which are expected to result from the consolidation of the whole of the British American possessions under one Parliament and Government. I have noticed on several occasions that even those who occupy a very prominent position in another place, and have taken ground against these resolutions, have generally admitted that a railway is an essential part of the scheme, and that it should be built as soon as the resources of the country will permit. More than that, I have not read anywhere in the public press, during the last three months, during which the subject has been before the country, the statement of the proposition, that a Union with British Columbia is undesirable. Therefore, we may be allowed to assume that there is a prevalent sentiment throughout British America that the Union of all British America is desirable. Now, leaving the general question—the importance of the interests involved and the necessity of Union as respects the development of the resources of the Confederation, I may proceed to consider the terms on which the Union is to be effected. The general scheme involves three propositions which form the chief subjects of discussion. These propositions, on which grave doubts appear to have arisen in the minds of some gentlemen, refer to the representation of

British Columbia, the nature of the financial arrangements apart from the railway, and the question of the railway itself. As respects the first, the question of representation, it has been objected that the scheme provides for a representation in Parliament beyond what we now enjoy in Canada. I suppose that almost every one, whatever his views may be, will agree that the rule of representation by population, cannot be fairly applied to a new territory. If we applied that rule to Manitoba, it would be left without any Parliamentary representation; and, therefore, it must be admitted that, in considering the case of a sparsely settled country, we must provide arbitrarily for the representation, as was done in the case of the new Province in the North West. We gave to Manitoba, with its population of 12,000, a representation of four members in the House of Commons, and of two representatives in the Senate; for we had to consider not merely the existing state of the country, but to look forward to the time, not far distant, when there would be a large and energetic population settled within its borders. This principle was affirmed by both Houses of the Parliament of Canada, as well as by the Government and Parliament of England. It was also affirmed with respect to Newfoundland, to whom we would have given a representation in advance of their population at the time; and, therefore, it was only just that we should apply the same rule to British Columbia. The population of that colony—supposing it to be as I stated it the other day—is composed of some 15,000 or 16,000 whites, some 1,000 Chinese, and 40,000 or 45,000 Indians. It is, however, a mistake to suppose that the Indian population is always left out in the consideration of the representation for the several Provinces. In the census which is now being taken the Indian population will be counted in every part of the Dominion, and will likely form an element in the adjustment of the representation. In the case of British Columbia, the ordinary rule respecting representation would have given her only one representative at the most, and no one can say that would satisfy her people. I think, too, we should bear in mind that that representation of six members will be the maximum until the next census.

Hon. Mr. LETELLER DE ST. JUST—Is there a maximum?

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL—That is the fixed number. We look forward to the time—as I am sure all must do—when there will be a large population in British Columbia, this representation will be found ten years hence to have been based on equitable principles. I now come to the second

proposition, and that is the money arrangements outside of the railway. I do not apprehend, so far as I have been able to follow public opinion, that there has been any serious objection urged to these arrangements. It is certainly noteworthy that these resolutions were published in the newspapers three months ago, without evoking any opposition, or showing that they were framed contrary to public feeling. Honorable gentlemen, in considering the financial terms, must remember that it is not only necessary to take into account the amount granted, but the sum necessary to meet the necessities of British Columbia. It is proposed in these resolutions, to take from British Columbia, the revenue which she now derives from Customs, Excise, and port and harbour dues, which amounted, during the last year, to \$323,500, then there is the amount of postage which I put down at \$14,000; also the sum which is now derived from steamers, \$26,000. Upon the calculation which has been placed in my hand, and which I believe to be correct, the revenue derived from British Columbia will be \$363,500.

Hon. Mr. LETELLER DE ST. JUST—I see an item, page 9 of the return, in reference to the steamer *Douglas*.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL—That item refers to the amount received for passenger traffic by a vessel called the *Douglas*, which is now being run for mail purposes, and which amount would to a certain extent accrue to the Dominion. In taking the Customs Duties, we must bear in mind that we obtain the most available and certain source of revenue to a new and sparsely settled country. On the other side of the account, we find the interest on the debt \$100,000; the subsidy in support of the Government \$35,000, and the amount of 30 cents per head of a population of 60,000—or \$48,000. An attempt has been made by an hon. friend of mine, who is in a position to form a good opinion of the probable charges of Governor, Judiciary, and Pensions list, and he puts it down at \$30,000. The expenses connected with the collection of customs may be estimated at \$15,000; mail, steam and telegraph department, \$63,800; light houses, \$9,500; militia and geological surveys, \$25,000; hospitals, \$10,000. The total of these amounts would give \$336,300 as the sum of the various charges against the Dominion. My hon. friend from St. John (Hon. Mr. HASEN), the other day, called attention to the guarantee for the dock at Esqui-mault. The amount which we are asked to guarantee, is \$100,000, which would be, at five per cent., \$25,000 for ten years. Adding this sum to the \$336,300, we have \$361,000.



Hon. Mr. DICKEY—Is that strictly a guarantee, for which British Columbia will remain reliable?

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL—It is strictly a guarantee. I have already shown you that the amount we are to derive from British Columbia is \$363,500, and the amount we are to pay her, is \$361,000—a very insignificant difference certainly. In the latter amount, too, I have included the interest on the dock guarantee which cannot remain long a liability—that public work must pay at least the interest on the cost of construction, sooner or later. Now, I come to that item which provides that the Dominion Government agree to pay British Columbia the sum of \$100,000, in consideration of the land alongside the railway. It will be remembered that, in case of Newfoundland we agreed to give her \$150,000 per annum for land for ever. It was not believed in that case, nor is it in this, that the land would yield any revenue equal to that sum, but it was valuable in many respects, and it was felt necessary to assist Newfoundland beyond the 80 cents per head of population. Looking at the statement of the sums the Local Government of British Columbia will have to provide for, we find that it amounts to \$212,000—every item appears to be very carefully, even frugally considered. Then they have a British local revenue left them by the Dominion, put down at \$151,000. Assuming that the calculation of their expenses is very moderate, then we come to what they have to meet them. The 80 cents per head would be \$48,000; the subsidy would be \$35,000; the balance of interest on debt, not incurred, \$25,000. That would give a total of \$259,000 against an actual existing expenditure of \$212,000 which is quite irrespective of the new Legislation and other kindred expenses which will in their new state devolve upon them. It must be remembered that in making an arrangement with a country like this, sparsely populated and with large boundaries, provision must be made for internal development and in any union we must make it satisfactory to the people of that country as well as to ourselves. Looking, therefore, at the whole state of the case, there would only remain to British Columbia \$100,000, which we propose to give her for the land she agrees to cede to the Dominion on the line of railway. Surely that cannot be considered an unreasonable arrangement; in fact, I have not heard any one say so. In Ontario, it is expected that alternate sections of 20 miles will be given for the construction of the road whereas British Columbia gives a continuous grant of 20

miles on each side. Therefore, the quantity of land given by that colony is twofold, that to be given by Ontario and Manitoba. Therefore, the item respecting the land can be defended successfully with respect to the necessities and requirements of the country, and in a lesser degree by the cession of the land itself which the Dominion is to receive. We now come to the portion of the arrangement which the House, no doubt, considers the most serious feature, and that is the proposition for the construction of the railway. Reference has been made to the resolution of which notice has been given in another place. Now, I desire at the outset to call the attention of the House to the language of these resolutions before us, and show that it fully bears the interpretation which the notice in question gives to it. The language of these resolutions is not that the Government will build the railway themselves, but that Canada will secure the construction of it. They are not in any way bound to the mode of constructing the road which some gentlemen are so desirous of fastening upon us.

Hon. Mr. STEEVES—It points to the building of the road.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL—It points to the best mode of constructing the road.

Hon. Mr. SANBORN—Perhaps the hon. gentleman will agree to incorporate the notice in question with the resolutions.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL—It is impossible to do so, as I shall presently show; but in any case it is unnecessary. The resolutions, as originally framed, point to precisely the same thing the Government have always had in contemplation. The proposition to construct the road within a certain period has attracted a great deal of attention, but I may explain that we have mentioned that time as most likely to be occupied in the construction of the work. It was not intended that we should proceed again in the face of insuperable obstacles or jeopardize or injure the resources of the country. It must be remembered, too, that the people of British Columbia will stand hereafter precisely in the same position as we ourselves—their representatives will be here and in the other branch, equally interested in the prosperity and economical administration of public affairs. We mentioned the time of 10 years as a guarantee that we were in earnest, and the intention has been always the same—the construction of the road by private enterprise and such aid as we could give without injuriously burdening the resources of Canada. Suppose a war arose in Europe to-morrow, and England became involved, would it be expected that

we should nevertheless go on with the undertaking.

Hon. Mr. SEYMOUR—It would only put off the evil day.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL—It would only put off the fortunate day (hear). Every gentleman who has discussed this question has admitted that the road must be built sooner or later, and that British Columbia must come into the Union. Does any one hesitate to acknowledge the advantages which that colony will derive from the opening up of communications with this country? Not only will she be benefitted but the whole Dominion, by the opening up of rich territories which otherwise must be waste for very many years to come. We cannot be, ten years hence, in a better condition to deal with this question than we are now. Will the country be more fertile or our resources more capable of meeting the exigency? Never can it be in a better position to make a commencement in this matter. We all know the great interest that is taken by Great Britain in the progress of the Confederation, and the importance which the statesmen and people of that country attach to the extension of the system. It will not be denied—no one has attempted to do so—that until the railway is accomplished, no union will be perfect. In the plan proposed, certainly, there can be nothing to alarm hon. gentlemen.

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST—What will be the cost?

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL—I cannot tell my hon. friend, but I can tell him what will be the cost to this country, and that is the point for us to consider. What does my hon. friend know of the cost of railways heretofore?

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST—I know that when any similar scheme was laid before the country, we had reports of surveys and estimates of competent men to guide us, but we have no such facts before us in the present case.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL—There will be a survey. I believe the expenditure for railways up to this time in this country has gone up as high as \$160,000,000. But that is not the burthen imposed upon this country. If it had been said in 1854, when our railway system was commenced, that such a sum was to be expended in the construction of railways, the country might have been alarmed; but who now speaks of a very unnecessary burthen having been imposed upon the country in connection with these public works, which have proved so very beneficial to the country. Let us look back for a moment to the circumstances in which Canada stood at the time

she incurred some of the large claims which have resulted so satisfactorily, and have placed us, in connection with other causes, in our present condition of prosperity. When we undertook our present Canal system, which has been very advantageous to the country, we had (in Ontario and Quebec) only a population of 1,100,000, and yet we entered upon the construction of public works which have cost \$16,000,000. Then, we had a debt of \$5,312,000 with a revenue of only \$1,280,000. Then, some years later, we embarked in the railway system, when we had only a population in the Canadas of 1,842,000, with a revenue of \$6,000,000, and a debt of \$20,000,000. At that time, we entered upon the construction of an expensive system of railways—assistance was given to some of these enterprises in various shapes. The result has been the construction of 3,000 miles of railway, involving an expenditure of \$160,000,000.

Hon. Mr. TESSIER—Was the prospectus of the Government promising ten per cent. realized?

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL—That prospectus was put forward by members of the then Government amongst others, but its statements have been more than realized as respects the earnings. The expenses of construction, however, were so much increased by the occurrence of the Russian War, and from other causes that the shareholders have sustained heavy losses. There can be no question, however, as to the soundness of the views which were then held by those who were dealing with public questions, with respect to the advantages which the road would confer upon the country at large. Similar results may reasonably be expected to accrue from the construction of the railway to the Pacific, on the terms on which we expect to have it accomplished. Now with respect to the mode in which this railway must be constructed. The resolutions say that "the Government of the Dominion undertake to secure the commencement simultaneously, within two years," and "to secure its completion within ten years from the date of Union." Now supposing that plan be pursued, as proposed in the resolutions, the information we have been able to get from men competent to speak on the subject leads us to believe that the road can be built with the free grants and the aid of a small subsidy.

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST.—What will be the total amount of land?

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL.—The hon. member can easily make the necessary calculation.

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST.—The Government should be prepared with such information.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL.—We must bear in mind that we have to build a railway, alongside of which the land is situated. We believe besides the land grant the Dominion need only give a subsidy ranging from \$7,000 to \$10,000 a mile, to accomplish the construction of the road. In the case of the Central Pacific, the Government of the United States gave a larger subsidy, some \$16,000 a mile, and in the Mountain country \$48,000 a mile. The Northern Pacific Railway, however, is being built without any money subsidy at all, and it runs through a country which, on the whole, is not so fertile as that which the Canadian Pacific will pass through. The sum I have mentioned will not bear hardly on the resources of the country, and should not cause us to be alarmed, especially when we come to review our past history. It will probably take from the present time to 1873 to survey the line. Then suppose we build 100 miles the first year, we will only have to pay \$50,000 interest on the subsidy; 200 miles the next would be \$100,000; 400 miles the interest on subsidy would be \$200,000, and so on until completion. The road is not to be built in a year, and our resources will not be burthened in any injurious or serious way.

But it is urged why not include the resolution, of which notice has been given elsewhere, in the present arrangement. It is unnecessary, in my opinion, but more than that, it would force us to send back the whole scheme to British Columbia, and open the door for other changes. Everybody who knows anything about the proceedings in that colony is aware that there were persons who required other stipulations than those embodied in the resolutions. They were told that the measure was in the nature of a treaty—I use that term for convenience—and they could not make changes in its details without sending it back here. We must endeavour to avoid all unnecessary delays in the accomplishment of this Union. And what possible benefit would be derived from the course proposed? It is not necessary to make things really, but only apparently, clearer than they are now.

Hon. Mr. DICKSON.—We must put that construction on the words which appear here.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL.—My hon. friend is probably right as to the literal construction to be put on the resolutions.

Hon. Mr. STEEVES.—Does my hon. friend wish to argue that hereafter the interpretation will not be given according to the words of the written document?

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL.—I do not think the literal meaning of the resolutions will be as hon. gentlemen desire to insist on, especially when they are coupled with the one to be passed in the other House—asking the authority of Parliament to construct the road by private enterprise and not by the Dominion. Nothing can be plainer than the language of this resolution: “Resolved, that the railway referred to in the address to Her Majesty concerning the Union of British Columbia with Canada, adopted by this House on Saturday the 1st April instant, *should be constructed and worked by private enterprise, and not by the Dominion Government*; and that the public aid to be given to secure that undertaking should consist of such liberal grants of land, and such subsidy in money, or other aid, not unduly pressing on the industry and resources of the Dominion, as the Parliament of Canada shall hereafter determine.

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST.—That is not in your treaty.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL.—It makes no difference whether it is in the treaty or not—it gives the real interpretation to the resolutions before us.

Hon. Mr. CHRISTIE.—If that be the case, why not then send the matter back to British Columbia, and ask the Legislature to place the same interpretation upon it.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL.—I have already shown you why that cannot be safely done. It must be remembered too that there are other interests besides of those of British connection—interests which would carry British Columbia in another direction.

Hon. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST.—What are they?

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL.—Every one knows perfectly well. The large sum of \$7,000,000 was readily given for the territory of Alaska, a country to the north of British Columbia, and by no means so rich in resources. Therefore it is necessary for the consolidation of British interests on this continent that we should not unnecessarily jeopardize the union of Canada with the colony on the Pacific shores. It is not as if we were making an arrangement with a foreign country. The people of British Columbia will form a part of our population, and take the same interest in the affairs of the Dominion, that we do ourselves; and it is not likely, when she comes into the Union, she will wish to push this enterprise forward to the injury of the Dominion, with whose prosperity she will be so closely identified. This railway is not necessarily a British Columbia project, even if the colony were not to be united to Canada, they would have to

open up a speedy communications with Manitoba and the North West. An ordinary road would not answer the purpose, but a railway would have to be built as soon as practicable—it was a part of our policy in annexing the North West. That fertile country would be little useful to Dominion unless it had speedy access to the markets of Canada and the United States. We must, therefore, consider the question in a Canadian point of view—in relation to the North West as well as to the Pacific colony. Without a railway no population will flow into the North West and we shall receive no advantages from our large territorial acquisition. I believe that this great work can be built with the grants of land and a money subsidy of about \$10,000 a mile. Every one agrees that the Union is necessary, and that the railway is an inevitable part of the scheme of Union; and all that is in dispute, is the best mode of constructing the road. I doubt if a more satisfactory mode can be proposed. I have not heard of any other having been suggested. If, then, we believe that the admission of British Columbia into Union with Canada is necessary, and that the railway is an essential feature of that Union; if we believe that the whole arrangement is necessary to the preservation of that British connection which has tended to make this country happy and prosperous, we should have no hesitation in passing the measure in its present shape. Our experience in the past shows us that we need not be apprehensive of the results that accrue from the construction of useful public works. In the present case the plan is so adjusted as to bear lightly on the resources of the country, which are in such rapid process of development from year to year (cheers).

Hon. MR. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST, who followed in French, said that he must say at the outset that since Confederation was an accomplished fact, he was prepared to accept it, and make it as acceptable as possible to the people of the Dominion. He must, however, take strong ground immediately against the passage of the resolutions, as committing the House to a most dangerous financial policy. He had listened with much attention to the remarks of the hon. Postmaster General, in the hope that he would be able to advance some legitimate argument before committing the House to a scheme of such a nature. He had heard with much surprise the Postmaster General advance as one of the reasons for dealing hastily with the question that if we did not unite now with British Columbia, she might ere long be lost to Canada and the Empire. He had no hesitation in saying that if the people of British Columbia were not loyal

enough to enter the Confederation on reasonable terms, and were only to be bought at such an extravagant price as that mentioned in the resolutions, it would be far better for us not to have them at all in the Union. If they had not the courage to continue to be English subjects, they were not worth buying. If they did not wish to stay under the flag of England, except they are bought, he did not see the necessity or the use of forcing them and incurring such an immense expense for that purpose. The Hon. Postmaster General and another Minister in the House of Commons, had said that the conditions of Union embodied in the resolutions, were in the nature of a treaty, but that was no reason why this House should not be allowed to discuss and examine those terms, and why it should be called to pass them in such haste as the Government wanted it to do. If British Columbia wished to dictate terms, and such unreasonable terms to Canada, and not accept our own, we had far better refuse to receive her into our Union. The scheme which had been settled and agreed to between the delegates of British Columbia and our Ministers, seemed to him to be of a nature to involve us in such financial embarrassments as would ultimately lead us to bankruptcy. The Hon. Postmaster General had said that we would not be bound to construct the Pacific road with our money; but another Minister had said in another place that it would be constructed by the Government, and the resolutions themselves stated distinctly that it must be constructed in ten years from this, and it would cost at least \$100,000,000. The Hon. Receiver General (Mr. Chapais) had said that the means to be taken for its construction would be to grant 64 millions acres of land along the route, to private companies, who would also be aided by money grants from the Government, to the amount of seven or eight millions.

Hon. MR. CHAPAIS explained that if the whole of the lands were given, they would amount to 64 million acres; but that if only alternate blocks of one mile were given to the company undertaking the construction of the road, the grant would then amount to only half, or 32,000,000 acres.

Hon. MR. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST said that in that case, supposing all those lands could be sold at \$1 per acre, they would only realize 32 million dollars, and with seven or eight millions subsidy, the whole would only amount to 33 or 40 million dollars, and it was preposterous to think that any company would undertake the construction of such a road.

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the estimated cost of which was 100 million dollars, for such a grant. If we put such conditions to the construction of the road that no company would or could accept them, it would be far more honourable and straightforward not to make such promises as those contained in the resolutions. If we could judge of the probable cost of this Pacific Railway by that of the Intercolonial, which was only one-sixth its length and was going to cost from twenty to twenty five millions, if not more, we might safely assert that the Pacific would cost at least 150 millions. The Intercolonial passed through a well settled country for a good part of its length, and supplies and materials could be carried along its course by the river and Gulf of St. Lawrence, and then by the Bay of Chaleur and the railroads of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, whilst there was no accommodation of the kind for the construction of the Pacific Railway; there was nothing but almost insuperable obstacles to its construction, and hence its cost would be infinitely greater per mile than that of the Intercolonial. It had been said, in order to commit the Senate in favour of the resolutions, that the road would not be constructed if it was found impossible to do it with the means mentioned, but this was only a dodge to blind the members of this House, and once committed to it, the Government would certainly go to enormous expense towards it, or else they would be playing a very dishonorable part with British Columbia, by promising what they did not intend to give. He thought that an undue influence had been brought to bear upon the members in favor of these resolutions, as had been the case last year with respect to another measure of the Government, which they wanted to pass against the wishes of a majority of this House. When opposition was offered to a measure of the Government in this House, it was said that the House had no right to counteract the financial policy of the Government, and an undue influence was brought to bear on some members to persuade them to vote for a measure which they disapproved. The same thing was being done in the present instance, and he must highly condemn such a course on the part of the Government, and claim the right for this House to discuss every question as freely and deliberately as the other House. The Senate ought to be perfectly independent of the Government; otherwise they would occupy a very undignified position before the country. The country had already signified its approval of the course of the Opposition last year, on the question of the odious tax imposed on coal and breadstuffs, which the Government carried in this House only by the question-

able means to which he had already adverted, and he firmly believed that the country would also approve of his own and his friends, conduct towards this extravagant proposition of the Government. These propositions, as had been said by the Hon. Postmaster General, related to three different questions, that of representation, of finance, and the political question. With regard to the representation, he (Hon. M. de Lotellier) thought that the terms agreed to and granted to the people of British Columbia were very unfair for the rest of the Provinces, inasmuch as they gave six representatives to a population not larger than that of one of our large counties in Canada. The terms of the Confederation of the Provinces, settled at the Quebec Conference, were unjust for the Province of Quebec, inasmuch as its representation was to be forever fixed at a certain number, 65, whilst that of the other Provinces could be increased with the increase of their population, and he considered that the granting of six representatives to a population which is probably not over 10,000 whites—besides the 5,000 Chinamen and 45,000 Indians—was an aggravation of the injustice done to the Province of Quebec, as that representation was not at all based on the same proportion of population. It was true that the resolutions stated that the population of British Columbia was taken to be 60,000; and it had been said the number of whites was 16,000; but when we saw that neither the Lieutenant Governor nor any other authority could state exactly what that number was, nor on what basis the supposition of that number rested, it might safely be asserted that the real number of whites did not exceed 10,000. He repeated that the granting of six representatives to British Columbia was changing the base of the representation agreed to at the Quebec Conference, that it was an infringement on the rights of the Province of Quebec in particular, and that the representatives of that Province had therefore a perfect right, and it was moreover their duty, to oppose the resolutions. With regard to the financial question, he found that the Government had adopted a principle diametrically opposed to its declared policy, the same as for the basis of the representation. We had seen the Government dismissing old servants of the late Province of Canada, and reducing the salaries of others, without any indemnity whatever; but by these resolutions they agreed to pensioning off and giving large salaries to the officers of the British Columbia Government. And reverting to the subject of the railway he asked whether any sensible and honest man would undertake to do what he knew he would not be

able to accomplish with his present means, and whether a man in his private transactions, engaged in the construction of a work without first ascertaining its probable cost, or its ultimate value to him. The Government was now exactly in the position of a man who would thus act, for when he (hon. Mr. L.) asked the Postmaster General if he knew what the road would cost, or if its practicability had been ascertained, or if he could point out the means to construct it without increasing the burthen of taxation, the hon gentleman could give no satisfactory answers to the questions. If the Hon. Postmaster-General was to apply such a principle to the administration of his private affairs he would probably soon find that it was a dangerous principle, a principle that would soon bring him to bankruptcy and ruin: With regard to the political question, whilst thinking that the Union of British Columbia with Canada might be acceptable and desirable if it could be accomplished on reasonable terms, he did not believe that it ought to be paid for at such a price as that laid down in the resolutions. As it was, it might be said that British Columbia dictated the terms of Union, and that she actually annexed Canada to her. He concluded by condemning the Government for refusing to help the construction of the North Shore Railway, which would be beneficial to a large portion of the people and the trade of Canada, when they are ready to expend hundreds of millions of dollars on a railway in a barren and mountainous country, without first ascertaining its practicability, and which cannot pay its working expenses. He moved in amendment that, after "3 resolved" insert, "that in the opinion of this House, the further consideration of this question be postponed for the present session of Parliament, in order that greater and more careful consideration may be given to a question of such magnitude and importance to the people of this Dominion."

Hon. Mr. WILMOT said—In rising to second the amendment proposed by my hon. friend, I may say at the outset that I am in no way indisposed to carry out the policy involved in the Act for the union of British America, and to bring British Columbia into the Union. What I say is that if the Government embody in these resolutions any stipulations like that which is contained in the resolution, of which notice has been given in the House of Commons, then a great many of my objections would vanish. We have already annexed the North West Territory, and, as one member of the House, I have been quite prepared to spend money in opening up communications with that country, knowing that otherwise it would remain a

burthen on the Dominion. I am also quite prepared to give what is proposed in these resolutions to British Columbia, knowing that Canada is not likely to derive any revenue from that colony for a length of time equal to its expenditure. But when I read the paragraph relative to the construction of the Pacific Railway, I certainly feel that I am not prepared to give my vote in favour of propositions for the building of 2,500 or 2,700 miles of a road, of the expense of which we have no definite facts before us—of which no explorations or surveys have been made, and when throughout the whole extent, including the Red River and British Columbia, there are only some 25,000 white inhabitants. We have already in the Confederation Act made provision for the construction of an Intercolonial Railway. The wisdom of Parliament has decided that that road shall be built through a part of New Brunswick at a much greater expense than if built in another direction. The same Act has provided that as soon as the finances of the country will permit, the canals should be enlarged. The cost of the railway will be, at least, \$20,000,000; the cost of canal improvements probably \$30,000,000. The estimated cost of the Pacific Railway will be something like \$100,000,000; and certainly, when I come to consider the population, resources, and existing engagements of Canada, such a scheme seems to mean simply bankruptcy. Experience is the great teacher, and tells us what has happened when prudence has taken wings and reckless enterprise has taken its place. In Allison's history of Europe I find the following description of the railway mania that occurred in Great Britain during the years 1844-45-46:

"The first effect of this state of things, as anticipated in the outset, and which was in the end, was a vast increase in railway speculation, and the growth of what has not inaptly been called the Railway Mania. It was during the years 1844, 1845, and 1846 that this system received its full development, and it was then pushed to a degree of extravagance which would not be credited by future times, if not vitiated by a host of contemporary witnesses and evinced by lasting effects upon the fate and fortunes of the country. Compared with the fever which then seized the public mind, and the magnitude of the speculations in consequence set afloat, the famous South Sea Bubble, and the corresponding fervour of England in 1720-25 and 1726-27, sink into insignificance. . . . It would be well if the historian had only to record the immediate losses which arose to parties concerned in them from these gigantic undertakings; but, unfortunately, the evil did not stop here, but, on the contrary, has impressed its mark in a lasting way on the national character and on the estimation in which the Legislature is held."

There you have an illustration of the way in which money was recklessly spent. Surely this House is not prepared to forget dictates of sound judgment and countenance a policy which, if carried out, within

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10 years as provided for in the resolutions, must involve the Dominion in inextricable embarrassment. The Postmaster General says that it is not the intention of the Government to burthen the country, and adds that the Dominion is not to build the railway, but why do they not state the facts clearly and explicitly in the resolutions—or that we are prepared to give certain moneys and lands—facilities for the construction of the road, and nothing more. What has been done in the past may happen in the future. We have alongside of us a very enterprising people, but let us see what history records with respect to their extravagance and rash speculation in railway and other matters during a period of their history.

"The humble petition of the Rev. Sydney Smith to the honorable House of Congress at Washington.

"I petition your honorable House to institute some measures for the restoration of American Credit, and for the repayment of debts incurred and repudiated by several of the States. Your petitioner lent the State of Pennsylvania a sum of money for the purpose of some public improvement. The amount, though small, is to him important, and is a saving from a life income, made with difficulty and privation. If their refusal to pay (from which a very large number of English families are suffering) had been the result of war produced by the unjust aggression of powerful enemies—if it had arisen from civil discord—if it had proceeded from an improvident application of means in the first years of self-government—if it were the act of a poor State struggling against the barrenness of nature—every friend of America would have been contented to wait for better times; but the fraud is committed in the peopled place of Pennsylvania, by the richest State in the Union, after the very investment of the borrowed money in roads every day reaping the advantage. It is an act of bad faith which (all its circumstances considered) has no parallel and no excuse.

More is it only the loss of property which your petitioner laments still more than immense power which the bad faith of America has given to aristocratical opinions and to the enemies of free institutions in the Old World. It is in vain any longer to appeal to history and to point out the wrong which the many have received from the few. The Americans, who boast to have improved the institutions of the Old World, have at least equalled its crimes. A great nation after transgressing under foot all earthly tyranny has been guilty of a fraud as enormous as ever disgraced the worst king of the most degraded nation of Europe.

"It is painful to your petitioner to see that American citizens excite, wherever they may go, the recollection that they belong to a dishonest people, who pride themselves upon having tricked and having pillaged Europe; and this mark has been fixed, by their faithless legislators, on the best and most honorable men in the world, whom every Englishman has been eager to see and proud to receive."

What I urge is that we should count the cost before we enter into this arrangement. We are here, as men of business experience, to deal with the question calmly and practically, and not to be carried away by false enthusiasm or dreams of the imagination. I ask any hon. gentleman in this House if it is possible for us, with our present means, to make ourselves responsible for so enormous an obligation as the building of this road will entail on us.

Whatever the House may do, I must enter my protest against such a suicidal policy. We have already had a little experience in the way of railway construction. I have been a member of a Committee formed, on the motion of my hon. friend to the left (Hon. Mr. Wark) to enquire into matters connected with the Intercolonial Railway. I have seen that the expenditure on that road, in connection with surveys alone, has amounted to \$1,200 a mile—any railway engineer, who understood his business, would perform the same work for \$500 a mile; and I give this as one instance of the nature of Government Railway works—just what the Pacific Railway may be, and in what manner they are managed in this country. Before we rush blindly into these expenditures, we should consider all the facts before us, and should not allow ourselves to be carried away by purely imaginative schemes, certain to end in national disaster. We have had some experience in New Brunswick with respect to the construction of railways. The hon. member from St. John (Hon. Mr. Hazen) and myself were members of a Government who entered into a contract with an English firm, of which the late Mr. Brassey was a member to build a railway from St. John to Shediac, and westerly to the American boundary. The Province agreed to take £1,200 stock per mile in the Company, and advance as a first mortgage £1,800 more—altogether £3,000 per mile. Unfortunately, for the country, that Government (laughter) was displaced, and my hon. friend in front of me (Hon. Mr. Mitchell) was a member of the administration that succeeded. They thought that the road could be built for a smaller sum, and they agreed to buy out the English Company for £90,000 Sterling. The eventual result was that the road cost \$43,500 a mile, cash paid, instead of a charge on the Province as was originally contemplated of \$12,000 per mile. Then the Province of New Brunswick adopted a different policy—they agreed to give a subsidy of \$10,000 per mile for certain roads to be built within the Province. Under that Act, several railways were built and completed ("hear" from Government benches); and now, had the Dominion Government come down with a definite proposition to give a subsidy, of so much a mile, to any Company which would be willing to construct the work supplemented by a grant of land, I would have been prepared to support it, instead of being compelled in the interests of the people of the Dominion to vote against it; for according to its liberal construction, we must pledge the country to enormous expenditures beyond what it is able to bear. I do not wish to see this

country placed in the humiliating position of possibly repudiating its sacred obligations; and, therefore, I feel bound to take a position on this question which is reconcilable with my sense of public duty.

Hon. Mr. MILLER said that although he would differ from the hon. Members who had preceded him in the vote he would give on the question under debate, there were some sentiments in the speeches of his hon. friends in which he unreservedly agreed. He agreed with the hon. member from Grandville in the magnitude and importance of the subject under consideration—the great scope for inquiry and discussion it afforded—the vast national aspects it presented, and the grave responsibilities involved in the motion before the House. But he had no sympathy with the general tone of that hon. gentleman's speech; he could not, in many instances, see the force of his arguments, or admit the correctness of his conclusions; he could not certainly share in the gloomy forebodings which his hon. friends had indulged in, or in their want of faith in the ability of this Dominion to accomplish the great work on which it had entered. Nor did he believe the views of these hon. members would find favor with a majority of that House or the country. On the contrary, that Parliament would prove itself equal to its high duties on the present occasion, as it had done on occasions of a similar character—as it had done in dealing with Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland, and Manitoba, he had every hope and confidence. Such too he believed to be the wish and expectation of the great majority of the people of this Dominion. There was a doctrine prevalent among their Republican neighbours, the doctrine of "manifest destiny," the meaning of which was familiar to all, and the attainment of which was frequently advocated on the principle that the end justified the means. That doctrine looked to the absorption, by that great power, of all the territory of this Continent, either by force or diplomacy, or in any other way in which it could be achieved. He could not help thinking that they too should have their manifest destiny; a destiny, however, not of wrong or aggression, or of self-aggrandizement at the expense of their neighbours, but a juster and a nobler one. Theirs should be a destiny of enlightened progress—a destiny to take advantage of the elements of future prosperity and greatness, of right belonging to them, and so profusely within their reach, by uniting and consolidating in one harmonious whole, the magnificent possessions of their Sovereign in British North America (cheers.) That he believed to be the destiny of the Dominion, and it was

one alike worthy of their highest ambition and within their ability and reach. He was aware there were some among them with whom these views might excite derision; there were some who sneered at what they called the pretensions of this great young nation, and who were always ready to belittle its present status and deride and doubt its ultimate success. Those, he felt sure, were a small minority, daily growing "smaller by degrees and beautifully less." He was unprepared for the views expressed in some quarters on the question before the House; he was especially surprised at the expressions of his hon. friend from St. John, (Hon. Mr. Hazen), whose great ability and large Parliamentary experience gave authority and weight to anything he said, when he declared that because he was an opponent of Confederation from the beginning, he, as a member of this Parliament, refused to assume any responsibility on this question (hear, hear). That hon. gentleman desired to throw on the originators of union all the odium of its results, while willing to take all its benefits. But he was content to assume all that responsibility and defend the policy of union. So far, it must be admitted, the Confederacy had proved a great success—had proved at least equal to all its higher obligations of a national character, and the experience of the past might reasonably make them hopeful of the future. He said this in no party sense and with no reference to many acts of administration of which he disapproved. When he spoke of the higher national obligations of the Dominion, he alluded to those things above the ordinary duties of internal administration, which it was the especial mission of Confederation to achieve. First among these was its duty to effect the union under one government of every square mile of British North American soil. In dealing with Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland and Manitoba, Parliament had exhibited a degree of wisdom and generosity that elicited admiration at home and abroad, and although the Island Colonies had not thrown in their lot with them, there was little doubt they would not much longer hesitate to do so. In both places, a counter action had already set in; prejudice and passion were rapidly disappearing before the light of truth and reason; faction was fast losing its hold and influence; the disadvantages of isolation were daily becoming more apparent; the terms offered were being more calmly discussed, and their liberality more generally admitted (cheers). Then again, in protecting their invaluable fishery rights against foreign encroachments; in repelling on more than one occasion hostile invasions of their soil, in allaying discontent in Nova



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Scotia, in quelling insurrection in the North West and establishing order and constitutional government where confusion and anarchy prevailed, in doing those things, which were amongst the first cares of a national existence, the Dominion, almost unaided, had proved equal to its duty (cheers.) The progress so far and the results achieved, were satisfactory. The vast territories of the Hudson's Bay Company, so long shut against colonisation and settlement had been added to the Union, which now extended from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains. They had already secured a territory out of which many splendid colonies would yet be formed, and that would offer an inviting home to millions. Who doubted that soon the tide of immigration would set towards those fertile regions, and that ere long they would see the whole country from the Red River to the Rocky Mountains, with cheap and certain and quick communication, occupied by a prosperous population, contributing to the strength and wealth of the Dominion? Yet even a few years ago, how remote did what had already been accomplished appear even to the most sanguine? A few years ago the people of the Maritime Provinces took less interest in the affairs of old Canada than they did to day in the affairs of Manitoba; it was not long since Montreal appeared more distant to them than Winnipeg then did. It was one of the happiest results of Confederation, that through it, the inhabitants of the Old Provinces were brought into familiar intercourse with each other, by which many groundless sectional jealousies and local prejudices had been removed, and a truer understanding of their common interests secured. A diversity of wants and interests had, in many cases, proved a bond of unity, showing them to be dependent upon, and necessary to each other (cheers.) It was true, they had not arrived at a political millennium in which sectional narrowness and faction had altogether given way to a sense of public duty—such could not be expected, and such was not the case. But among its substantial advantages, the result of Confederation had also been to elevate the tone of public sentiment; to enlarge the views of the people and their representatives; to educate them all up to the duties of their advanced growth and to infuse a courage and spirit of self-reliance in regard to whatever remained to be done in the accomplishment of their manifest destiny (cheers.) Such were the political results of Union; its results on the material prosperity of the people of every section of the Dominion were equally gratifying. Accustomed in their several Provinces, before that event to deal only with local subjects comparatively small and unimpor-

ing, they perhaps required the education the larger arena of this Parliament afforded to enable them to deal hopefully and fearlessly with a subject of the magnitude of that under consideration. He believed this question would now be approached in no timid or narrow spirit. He thought that no time should be lost—that no exertions should be spared, to secure the admission into the Union of British Columbia on the one side, and Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland on the other. Under these circumstances, and at a most auspicious time, the application of British Columbia to become part of the Dominion of Canada was submitted to this Parliament. In considering that application, he would trespass on the patience of the House to take a rapid glance at the country, its value and resources, they were about to secure by the proposed arrangement. British Columbia, including Vancouver's Island, as they were all well aware, was the most western dependency of England on this continent. It comprised a territory of about 290,000 square miles, situated, with the exception of a small portion of Vancouver's Island, above the parallel of 49° N. Lat. It possessed a sea-coast of about 500 miles, as settled by the Treaty of Washington in 1846, and a breadth of between 300 and 400 miles. The country, although in many parts broken and uneven, contained much valuable agricultural land, equal to the support of a great population. The climate is admitted to be one of the most desirable in the world for natives of the temperate zones, and they would all admit the importance of climate in inducing immigration. "A dry, warm summer; a bright, beautiful autumn; an open, wet winter and spring"—is said to be a true description of the weather in Vancouver's Island, and all along the sea-coast of British Columbia. Only an imperfect estimate can be formed of its population, as no census has ever yet been taken, but from the best sources of information available the population, consisting of Whites, Indians, and Chinese, may be put down at 60,000. A few years after the treaty of Washington, Vancouver's Island was granted by the Crown to the Hudson's Bay Company under conditions of settlement which were never complied with, the object of that Corporation being there as elsewhere to retard settlement wherever their monopoly extended. These causes, coupled with its recent settlement, will account for its small population. But its great resources, and unrivalled maritime advantages, must before long make it one of the most thriving and important communities on the Pacific. Those resources were very numerous. There was its timber, especially its pine, universally,

conceded to be the best in the world, and as exhaustless as it was superior. Markets for this commodity on both sides of the Pacific were abundant, and writers well acquainted with the subject contend that the investment of capital and labour in that branch of industry alone would soon make the country populous and wealthy. The prosecution of this business on a large scale would soon call into existence a large mercantile marine, for timber being a bulky commodity required a large tonnage for transportation. It was this industry alone that had made New Brunswick second only to Nova Scotia in the tonnage it possessed (hear, hear). British Columbia is known to contain coal formations of immense extent. They need not be told of the value of coal as a source of national wealth; it was one of the first requisites of manufacturing success, and one of the chief elements of general commercial prosperity. Its coal alone would make British Columbia a valuable acquisition even to a country not requiring a Pacific sea-board. The demand for coal in the North Pacific was said to be very great, and the full development of that rich resource could not be much longer retarded. Coal also being a bulky article would give employment to a large number of ships; thereby encouraging ship building, and bringing into existence a large amount of tonnage. His hon. friends from Nova Scotia would admit what the coal trade of that Province had done to make them the largest ship owning community in the world in proportion to population (hear, hear). Then copper abounded in the colony, and also magnetic iron ore, marble, limestone, sandstone, &c. Its gold fields had a world-wide reputation. The export of that precious metal had been computed in some years to exceed \$4,000,000. Its fisheries were almost equal to their own, and are destined to become an important item of commerce. The people of California, Mexico, and those countries on the west coast of South America, would be larger consumers of that article than Spain, Italy, and the Brazil, which now afforded to the Atlantic Provinces so large a market. Besides, no place on this continent was better situated for the prosecution of the whale and seal fisheries than British Columbia. This was another branch of industrial wealth that would tend toward the building up of that favoured colony as a Maritime State, ultimately destined to compete for the carrying trade of the Pacific, especially between Asia and America (hear, hear). It was here worthy of remark that while the prosperity of Nova Scotia depended largely on its coal and fish, that of New Brunswick

chiefly upon its lumber, that of Newfoundland wholly on its fish, British Columbia combined all these elements of wealth, and many more, the possession of which had ever been a source of national prosperity (hear, hear). But great as may be the resources of that colony, and desirable as would be its acquisition for the sake of those resources, it was as a Pacific sea-board that British Columbia was invaluable to the Dominion and the Empire. What would not the United States give for its possession in order to shut out Canada and Britain from the possibility of becoming their rivals in the trade and commerce of the Pacific? A very few years ago an able writer in the California press spoke thus of the coming struggle between these two countries for "the trade of the East, and the empire of the seas":—

"That England has great purposes to effect in this part of the world, is, no doubt, true; that she has grand projects on foot, looking to a Union of her North American Colonies, and the opening of a highway from ocean to ocean, she does not seek to disguise. That these new settlements are yet to become competitors for the trade of the east, if not for the commercial supremacy of the Pacific, it were useless to deny. . . . But, however, we may regard the advent of England upon our shores, or whatever estimate we may set on the value of her possessions in this quarter, one thing is certain, we have now got to meet her on this side of the globe as we have met her on the other; and encountering her enterprise and capital, her practical, patient industry and persistence of purpose, dispute with her for the trade of the east and the empire of the seas."

When intelligent foreigners were so early alive to the inevitable rivalry here indicated, was it not time that they should be awake to their duty and interests? England still maintained her supremacy on the ocean, daily distancing all her rivals. But may not even they, one of England's dependences, venture to dispute the empire of the seas with their ambitious neighbours? When the Dominion controls 500 miles of sea-coast on the Pacific, and more than double that extent on the Atlantic, with natural resources and commercial necessities to call into existence a mercantile marine; with the greatest facilities in the world for ship building, and a policy removing all restrictions and taxation from that enterprise, who could doubt the result? He recollected reading last year in a leading commercial journal of New York an able review of this subject, in which the writer predicted with regret, that the Dominion of Canada, already third or fourth on the list of maritime States, would in the beginning of the next century be the greatest maritime power on the Globe (obeys). Such being the value and advantage of the territory proposed to be annexed to this country, the question arose whether in view of the policy to which the Dominion was committed, and the absolute necessity, politically and com-

of New-British Colonies of the position (hear, hear). Sources of wealth would be its resources, that Britain to the Dominion would its possessions and becoming of commerce of years ago an press spoke between these of the East,

to effect in true; that she to a Union of the opening she does not settlements of the trade of supremacy of . . . But of England mate we may in this quarter got to meet have met her enterprise industry and her for the of the sea." ars were so rivalry here t they should interests? r supremacy king all her y, one of Eng- e to dispute their ambitious tion controls Pacific, and ent on the cross and com- existence a greatest faci- building, and a ns and taxa- o could doubt reading last al journal of f this subject, d with regret, ada, already g of maritime g of the next time power on eing the value ry proposed to the question the policy to mitted, and ally and com-

mercilly, of securing a sea board on the Pacific, they were asked to pay too high a price for their object. He did not think there could be much dissatisfaction with the general terms of the arrangement; the only real objection was to the great outlay in connexion with the Pacific Railway. Passing over for the present the subject of the railway, it did not appear to him that the terms agreed on, although certainly liberal as they ought to be, contained anything unreasonable. He did not think there was anything to complain of in fixing the population at 60,000, even if it were something less. The financial arrangements had, doubtless, been settled on accurate information, and a full investigation of the wants and circumstances of the colony. If the present tariff of British Columbia was continued, the Dominion would lose nothing, but allowing for a change to the tariff of Canada after Union, which was in the option of the Local Legislature and, no doubt, would be made, still if the country became at all populated they would lose nothing. The public works and services stipulated to be undertaken appeared proper and necessary. Neither did he consider that any alarm need be felt from giving to British Columbia a larger representation in the Senate and House of Commons than its present population would justify. The same compromise had been extended, although not to the same extent, to Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland and Manitoba. But the population would soon become equal to the representation, which in 1881 would be arranged on the basis of the British North America Act. There was nothing to fear from the presence, temporarily, of two or three more members in this Parliament either from British Columbia or Manitoba than they were at present. ly entitled to; they could not unfairly influence the decision of Parliament (hear, hear). It could not be denied the great stumbling-block in the negotiations submitted to Parliament for approval was the gigantic undertaking to connect the Pacific with the Atlantic by railway, a work estimated to require over \$100,000,000. To look at this great project simply as a portion of the terms offered to secure the admission of British Columbia into the Union, was not viewing it in a fair light. True the undertaking was now assumed in connection with the terms agreed upon with that colony, but it was because it could not sooner be assumed—it could not be contemplated while British Columbia remained out of the Union, and Canada had no seaboard on the Pacific. It was absurd—it was purely factious, to look upon this great national highway simply as a British

Columbian affair; it was subject alike of Dominion and Imperial interest. It was equally absurd to say they were asked to build this railway to secure the annexation of that colony. The reverse of that proposition was nearer the truth. The railway was to be built because it had become practicable by the agreement of British Columbia to join the Union; thereby giving the Dominion control of all the country between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans required for its construction. There could be little doubt that they possessed the country that afforded the best route for an interoceanic railway.

(Mr. Miller here cited various authorities to show the feasibility of a railway across British territory—its advantages over every other line that could be built on the continent—its prospects of becoming the highway for traffic and travel between Europe and Asia, and also showing how this means of communication had hitherto been neglected, partly in consequence of the efforts to find a water communication between the two oceans through the North West passage, forever abandoned for all practical purposes).

It could not be denied, however that the proposition to build this railway would startle the most reckless, if it meant to tax the people of this country to the extent of \$100,000,000 for such a purpose (hear, hear). No public man among them would dream of anything so visionary and impossible as that of doubling the debt of the Dominion for this single undertaking within the next ten years. Canada, in agreeing to secure the construction of this railway, meant nothing of the kind. It was not necessary and could not be expected from them; they would be required he felt confident to do only their fair share. A railway across the continent on British soil was as much an Imperial as a Dominion necessity. There was no doubt that England so regarded it. The leading minds of the Empire had unmistakably given their opinion on the high national character of the work. From among a host of others, he would quote Lord Bury, who had given much attention to this subject, and who, some years ago, before the construction of the American Pacific Railway, the completion of which had given double force to his language, said:

"Our trade in the Pacific Ocean with China and with India, must ultimately be carried on through our North American possessions; at any rate our political and commercial supremacy will have utterly departed from us if we neglect that very great and important consideration, and if we fail to carry out, to its fullest extent, the principal advantages which the country offers to us and which we have only to stretch out our hands to take advantage of."

Perhaps there never was a time when political reasons rendered

the completion of this great inter-oceanic highway so important to England. If "the signs of the times" could be relied on, at no distant day, her supremacy, it maintained at all, as he hoped it would be maintained, will be maintained after a desperate struggle. In that event, what would be the whole cost of this road to the advantages it would afford, and the treasure it would save the Empire? Can it be supposed that British Statesmen are not alive to these considerations, and what has money ever been to England when her honour, her interests, or her power has been concerned? That when the time came, England would do her duty, and do it generously, in this great national enterprise, they might safely believe. The importance of this railway is strongly put in an article published some time ago in the *Money Market Review*, from which he would read an extract:—

"That under these circumstances the railway will be made sooner or later, there can be no doubt. With interests so numerous, so vast, and with such means at command, the difficulty of constructing this Hudson's Bay Railway ought to assume the most moderate proportions. Great Britain, Europe, Canada, British Columbia, New Zealand, Australia, the Hudson's Bay Company, and the International Financial Society, all want the Railway, and would gain by the Railway, and it would be amazing, if with such interests and such resources, it could not be made and made properly. In India, State guarantees had been given, and are promised upon Railway capital, sufficient to construct this line ten times over; and it is a question whether any one Indian Railway is more useful than this even for state purposes."

The certainty of England assisting, either by guarantee or otherwise, in this great work being clear, what he asked was the true position of the people of Canada regarding it? They had lately acquired the North West as far as the Rocky Mountains. Unless certain, and quick communication with that territory could be afforded, immigrants could not be expected to go there; the country would remain unsettled, and instead of being a source of wealth, would continue a burden on the Dominion. They could not shirk their duty with regard to that great extent of country, unless they were willing to admit that they, four millions of the descendants of the hirsute races that in modern times had led the civilization of the world, were as unequal to its government as the blighting monopoly they had superceded (hear, hear). That country was comparatively valueless, unless connected with the rest of the Dominion by railway. Therefore, they would be obliged, as the Postmaster General had correctly said, to construct the greater portion of the Pacific Railway in order to open up and colonize that newly acquired territory, although British Colum-

bia remained out of the Union. But in this view the work would not be looked upon as a work of Imperial interest, deserving Imperial aid. By uniting British Columbia and starting the railway as a work of national necessity; as a work of the highest Imperial concern, it would secure the countenance and assistance of the Empire. If Canada could secure a fair measure of Imperial support, the rest was certainly within her means. They had at their disposal limitless quantities of rich lands, the value of which would be greatly enhanced by this railway.

(Here Mr. Miller showed the extent and value of the land at the disposal of the Government to construct the railway, the advantages of the country over the line of the American Pacific Railway, the probability that only a very small subsidy from the Government would be required, which would be rendered smaller by the probable guarantee of the Imperial Government, making the proposed liability a very different thing from what it was represented to be by the opponents of the measure).

It may be said, that it was unwise to bind themselves to the completion of this work within ten years. But they saw more changes, more great results achieved, in a decade now, than in a century a hundred years ago; to make the time longer would look like not being in earnest, and he trusted the Government were in earnest in this great work. It had also been said that the Maritime Provinces had no interest in the union of British Columbia and the construction of the railway. He repudiated on behalf of the Province he represented, an idea so narrow and sectional (hear, hear). Whatever benefited any portion of this Dominion, benefited every portion of it (cheers). The people of Nova Scotia were as much interested in the perfection of your canal system as the people of Ontario. They should not be told that because no portion of this road was required to be built in Nova Scotia, they had no interest in it. As the wharf of this Dominion, Nova Scotia had an interest in everything that tended to develop the great territory of British America behind it. Nova Scotia was as much interested as Vancouver Island in the completion of the inter-oceanic railway, and would benefit as much from it (hear, hear). Halifax might, after this road was built, look forward to become the great Atlantic depot of the trade of the East—a trade that had enriched, in ancient and modern times, every country that had possessed it. The author of an able work of this subject spoke of this trade and its advantages to those that had ever secured it in this way.

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"Control of trade with the east has been cov-  
ered as a prime source of wealth by western na-  
tions from the remotest antiquity. Mercantile  
communities engaged from age to age in carrying  
eastern freight, have invariably prospered from  
the undertaking, and the grandest cities of  
ancient and modern times, have owed much of  
their splendor to the fact of this rich traffic pass-  
ing through them. The Tyrians, Greeks,  
Romans, Saracens, Venetians, Portuguese,  
Dutch, and English afford monumental proof of  
these statements."

He trusted that before many years the  
Dominion of Canada would furnish another  
monumental proof of the statement of that  
writer. He believed, with the completion  
of railway communication between the  
Atlantic and Pacific, Nova Scotia would  
occupy one of the proudest and most pros-  
perous positions in North America, and  
that the realization of this scheme pre-  
sented to that Province a future that the  
imagination could not exaggerate. If  
Nova Scotia were disposed to be selfish  
and sectional—if its people were unfit to  
take a broad national view of a great sub-  
ject affecting the whole country—he would  
still, on the most selfish and sectional con-  
siderations—as a representative of that  
Province, advocate the construction of this  
railway. If they could secure for this line  
the trade of the East; if Halifax, with its  
harbour capable of accommodating the  
shipping of all the world, were to become  
the Atlantic depot of that trade, what  
dream could exaggerate the future  
wealth and greatness that were  
in store for it (cheers)?  
In concluding his observations, he could  
not help remarking on a coincidence in his  
own connexion with the great question of  
Confederation, which the House would  
pardon him for referring to. On this day  
five years, he had by his action and his  
utterances in the Legislature of his native  
Province, marked an epoch in its history,  
well in the recollection of many who list-  
ened to him (hear, hear). On this very day  
five years ago, he had, in the Assembly of  
Nova Scotia, when making an important  
motion regarding Confederation, said that  
"a union of the Maritime Provinces with  
Canada and the great country beyond  
would give them a territory extending  
from the Atlantic to the Pacific, with all the  
diversified resources necessary to the most  
unlimited material progress." He little  
imagined on that day that exactly five  
years afterwards he would be called upon  
in the Parliament of this Dominion to raise  
his humble voice, and give his humble  
vote in favour of the great project he then  
desired to see accomplished. Through  
good report and through evil report,  
through obloquy and mis-representation,  
the loss of friends and the sacrifice of  
popularity and personal advantages, he  
had never doubted the wisdom of the  
course he had on that day adopted, or re-

gretted it. In their political horizon he  
saw no sign to warrant despondency or re-  
gret, but in the present position and  
prospects of this country, he saw much  
room for hope, much reason for gratitude,  
and much cause for honest pride (hear,  
hear). The friends of union had nothing  
to regret or to be ashamed of, and he  
trusted the day was not far distant when,  
by the admission of Newfoundland and  
Prince Edward Island, the people of the  
Dominion would be called upon to cele-  
brate the completion of the noble edifice  
of British North American Union (pro-  
longed cheers).

Hon. Mr. SANBORN—One cannot fail to  
admire the enthusiasm which has charac-  
terized the speech of the hon. member-  
who had just sat down. When I recall  
his remarks I cannot help thinking of an  
observation once made by the late Lord  
Elgin, that a Yankee would not be con-  
tent with the Garden of Eden but would  
go Westward. I think if the hon. mem-  
ber lives to see his aspirations realized,  
and this inter-oceanic railway extended  
to the Pacific, he will feel, as Alexander of  
old, when he wept because there were no  
more worlds for him to conquer; for he  
will have come to the waters of the Pacific  
and there is no more land westward for  
him to annex. The subject now before us  
presents itself in three aspects: First,  
the propriety of the union of British Co-  
lumbia; secondly, the mode of union;  
and thirdly, the financial arrangement  
by which that union is to be obtained. I  
will address myself first to the second pro-  
position, because it is the one most easy to  
dispose of. I am now referring to the  
constitutional aspect of the question as it  
presents itself to my mind. When the  
Bill with respect to Manitoba was before  
us last year, I doubted the constitution-  
ality of our proceedings at the time. It  
seems to me that the Government have  
been all the time taking an erroneous  
course. They failed to ask for an address  
in the case of Rupert's Land, whereas now  
they adopt that mode. But I see a difficulty  
connected with this question. There is a  
stipulation in the British North America  
Act which does not enable us to proceed  
simply by address for the purpose of  
admitting British Columbia into the Union.  
The 146th clause is as follows: "It should  
be lawful for the Queen, by and with the  
advice of Her Majesty's Most Honorable  
Privy Council, on addresses from the  
Houses of the Parliament of Canada, and  
from the Houses of the respective legisla-  
tures of the colonies or Provinces of New-  
foundland, Prince Edward Island and Brit-  
ish Columbia, to admit those colonies or  
Provinces, or any of them, into the Union;  
and on address from the Houses of the

Parliament of Canada to admit Rupert's land and the North Western territory, or either of them into the Union, on such terms and conditions, in each case as are in the addresses expressed, and as the Queen thinks fit to approve, subject to the provisions of this Act; and the provisions of any Order in Council in that behalf, shall have effect as if they had been enacted by the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland." Now, to my mind, we will only be able to admit British Columbia on the terms of the Imperial Act. Then, I find in the next clause the following with respect to the appointment of Senators: "In case of the admission of Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island, or either of them, each shall be entitled to a representation in the Senate of Canada of four members and (notwithstanding anything in this Act) in case of the admission of Newfoundland, their normal number of Senators shall be seventy-six and their maximum number shall be eighty two, &c." I find no provision whatever in the Act for the appointment of Senators from British Columbia, and when this address is carried before the Queen in Council, it will be impossible to name the Senators without an Imperial Statute. Here the maximum number of Senators is fixed at 82 after the admission of Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland, and there is no mention whatever of any power given to appoint Senators for British Columbia. In the next place, with respect to the representation, referring to the sections of the British North America Act, we find a certain number provided for a certain population—a certain number for Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, according to population. This representation is to be increased on certain conditions. A certain proportional rate in Quebec is to fix the rate in the other Provinces. Under the present arrangements six representatives are given to British Columbia in the House of Commons. This is in direct contravention of the Constitution and destroys the equilibrium which was established in the Act. I now come to consider the propriety of the admission of British Columbia. I have not had the good fortune—if it is a good fortune—to have been among those who were instrumental in assisting in the infancy of Confederation. However, if all the brilliant prospects depicted by the hon. member are to be realized—if we are to become that great nation of which we are told; then I rejoice that we are getting along so well, though I have not had the honour of participating in the inauguration of the scheme, and I shall rejoice to be so agreeably disappointed. After this Confederation became an accomplished fact, I

declared that I was prepared to accept it and do all in my power to strengthen it. I still entertain these sentiments, and desire to express them unreservedly. I am prepared to admit that we looked forward to the admission of British Columbia as a part of the Confederation scheme, and perhaps communication with the Pacific by means of an interoceanic Railway. But whilst I make this statement in good faith and wish most earnestly to see this country built up and strengthened I am not prepared to wander blindly into schemes which, in my judgment, we are not capable of carrying out. British Columbia was expected to come into Confederation, but it must be remembered that in accomplishing this union there were other objects—objects of a more material interest—kept in view and intended to be first carried out within the range of our ability. For instance, the completion of our canal system and the improvement of communication between the existing Provinces, the development of our trade and commerce, the settlement of the waste lands of the country which we now possess. Now the main question on this case is a question of policy. Before proceeding to this, I would remark that there is something very significant in our political state. The hon. gentleman who has just set down declared that it was for the interest of the British Empire that this railway should be built—that we should accomplish this work and develop our resources in order to consolidate British power on this continent. But do we find a single dollar, assistance in any shape whatever contributed or promised by the Empire? No, we do not even find that anything has been asked. In the case of the Intercolonial Railway we had the guarantee of the British Government. Now we are asked to extend that road across the continent to the shores of the Pacific, and in that way hold up British power in America. Was that the object which brought these Provinces together? If that were the case, then we have a right to expect assistance from the British Government in accomplishing this great work. But what do we really see going on? We are told that we shall have the protection of Great Britain in case of difficulty, and yet the troops are removed, and we have evidences before us to which we cannot be blind, that we are left in this Confederation entirely to ourselves. Though still a colony, we are extending our territory westward to the Pacific and undertaking all the responsibilities of these great enterprises, children as we are, we assume the obligations of an independent nationality, without the security and countenance we should

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have from the Parent State. It is not for me to complain of this, but I point out the facts for your careful consideration. Colonies, it should be remembered, are but *attaches* to the empire, under the aegis of the State from which they derive their existence. Can we reconcile the fact of undertaking such national responsibilities, with our existing political conditions. It is not of the nature of Colonies to be aggressive. It never has been so. This is the attribute of the nation; this I make no complaint of, but I note the fact, and as we say in law, may not of it. The policy of Confederation now being carried out as indicated by Imperial proceedings and our Colonial movements is that we are to become an independent nation. The speech of the Hon. Postmaster General was certainly as argumentative and masterly an exposition of the policy of the Government as could be expected from one of its members. It has been truly said by that hon. gentleman that no one has opposed the admission of British Columbia into the Union. All of us seem to come to one point, and that is, as to the propriety of the Union. I believe it is a necessity if we are to become a nationality that we should hold out the hand of friendship to the other Provinces. But because I feel this, it does not follow that I am to accept the Union on any terms. Here we are giving British Columbia a representation outside of the principle applied to the other sections of the Dominion. The advocates of this Union tell us that there are some 10,000 or 12,000 whites and 50,000 Indians, in the country; but reading Dr. Ruttray's work, the Indian population in 1867 is put down at 15,000. A considerable difference between the two estimates. In presenting this matter before us in the light of a treaty, the Government are placing us in a very unfortunate position. A country like this, enjoying responsible Government and representative institutions for many years—with a superior system of colleges and schools—with a territory and resources in a high condition of development—is placed in the situation of a minor Province in this question. It was due to us as the larger, older, and more experienced country that we should have had the matter first submitted to us. British Columbia has no responsible Government—there is a Legislative Council, only a portion of which is elective. The Government is virtually a one man power—virtually a despotism. However, that Government arranges the terms of Union with the Dominion of Canada, and then the whole scheme is brought before us, and we are told that it is a treaty which we cannot alter or amend. Such a course is humili-

ating to the Dominion of Canada. But the people of British America do not appear to consider it as a treaty, so far as they are concerned, for certain persons have sent in a requisition, according to the return before us, for some alterations in the terms. Under these circumstances no person can believe that we should not alter or modify these terms, and present them in that form which we think is most just and reasonable. The government have taken a very large and unnecessary responsibility upon themselves, and have endeavoured to tie the hands of both branches of Parliament so that they cannot deal, as they should, with these terms. The hon. gentleman who has just taken his seat has said that the only stumbling block in his way was the Inter-oceanic Railway, and I cannot for the life of me, see that, he succeeded in removing it, and I must still believe that it remains in the same place. He told us in most glowing terms what would be the consequences of building the railway, that we would find gold, coal, and other minerals; but he did not tell us how we are to get the hard cash to build the railway. Now the Northern Pacific Railway may be considered, in many respects, analogous to this railway. Now I have before me the report of the Chief Engineer, in 1867, and he estimates the cost of the road from Duluth to Seattle, the Pacific terminus, 1775 miles at \$140,377,500 in greenbacks. At that time there would be \$100,000,000 at least. In his next report, made in 1870, the Engineer says: "In my report of 1867, to which I have referred, was made, and an estimate of cost given of the entire road based upon a general knowledge of the country derived from the representations of those who had passed over it. There was, at that time, no data for an estimate of cost of any portion of it from actual survey. Since then the report of Gen. Spalding hereto appended, had been received of his surveys, with a view to an estimate of cost have been made. His estimate for this portion, 232 miles, is about \$15,000 per mile, more than the estimate for the same distance in my published report. If the difference between the actual and the estimated cost is as great relatively on the remaining portion of the road, the whole cost of the road will be reduced to \$125,000,000, and I think will not much exceed that amount if built with care and judgment, and with means adequate to its construction in the most economical manner." That is about two thirds of the length of our road, adding one third, then, for our road, and taking ten per cent. premium in gold in 1869, we have the cost just \$150,000,000 accord-

ing to the report of the Engineer of the Northern Pacific.

Now with respect to our ability to accomplish the work. This Northern Pacific was incorporated in 1864, and after having been for two years in the market we find the following statement made by the shareholders.

"The corporation organized under their charter in the summer of 1864, and being deeply impressed with the importance of the enterprise, immediately inaugurated measures to provide funds for the construction of their road. But notwithstanding the many favourable provisions in their charter, including a liberal land grant, it was found impracticable after the most diligent and persevering efforts to induce capitalists to embark in the enterprise."

The result was that the Company did not get parties to invest in the work—they found that the land grant was not sufficient. With respect to the terms now proposed, we find the Government promise to commence the work within two and complete it by ten years. The Government admit that they have made a mistake—that is perfectly clear. On no point, in my opinion, was the Postmaster General led into such deep water as on this. In the other House, we find the leader of the Government coming forward and proposing a resolution as to the mode in which the road is to be built. Now, if the terms of the original resolutions are perfectly clear, why try and explain them afterwards. The difficulty is that the resolution in question does not affect our obligation. The Government of their own volition pledge us to construct a railway within a certain term of years. Governor Musgrave lets us into the secret of the opinion, he and others in British Columbia entertain with respect to the arrangement. He says frankly that they asked really more than they had a right to expect. As my hon. friend from St. John (Mr. Hazen) said the other day, I cannot see how they had "the cheek" to make such a demand upon us. However, we voluntarily pledge ourselves, through the Government, to build the railway. We do not say that we will try to get somebody to build it, but we pledge ourselves to construct it—we contract a solemn obligation. My hon. friend, the Postmaster General surely cannot believe that we are not bound literally to this pledge. If he does, then he must consider us—I do not like to use the word—certainly wanting in common sense. If the Postmaster General gives a promissory note to any one, and it is negotiated and falls into the hands of a third party. When it falls due, he says, I did not promise to pay it absolutely in three months. But the law does not give

any such interpretation as that to contracts. If the Government does not keep faith in matters of treaty, its name and honour must suffer in the estimation of the world. I do not believe that they will add to the reputation of this country by imitating a system which must of necessity stamp us with Funic perfidy, from the very fact that we cannot fulfil our obligation. The Postmaster General has referred to the progress of the wealth and the great development of the resources of this country; but I have made a simple comparison between the debt of the United States and our own. The debt of the United States was, on the first of November, 1870, \$2,348,931,652, or \$90.50 per head. The revenue last year was \$393,000,000. The surplus was \$162,000,000. Now the debt of Canada is \$90,000,000, and if we add \$150,000,000 to the amount, we have a debt of \$240,000,000, equal to \$2,300,000,000 for the United States, which has only just emerged from a long and most expensive war. In old times—some twenty years ago—we were accustomed to be horrified at the expenditure of a few millions, whereas now we are prepared at once to contract obligations to the extent of hundreds of millions. If the Postmaster General was unfortunate in any part of his argument, it was when he came to refer to the history of railway enterprises in this country. He says that they have redounded to the benefit of Canada. I am quite prepared to admit that. I have great confidence in railways—they are eminently civilisers. We have not, however, expended \$100,000,000 on the construction of these works. Capital came in largely from abroad, and those who invested it have never received one dollar for the investment. When the Grand Trunk Railway was proposed, we loaned £3,000 a mile. We had preferential security on the stock—we were told that the road would pay large dividends, but that failed to turn out the case. Then from time to time we were called upon to prop up the undertaking and assist it, and we did so. We relieved our loan by allowing preferential securities to be placed before us. The result is, that we have a railway which is certainly useful to the country, but all the capital has been sunk, and the shareholders have received no benefit from it. We found some of them high in office—some of them still so—prominent in bringing forward the scheme, and putting a glowing prospectus before the English people. The people who built the road, who were persuaded into giving up their savings and capital, were ladies and others, who had been impoverished in consequence of the inability of the Company to pay a single dollar of profit. Does the Postmaster Gen-



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eral desire to see the stock taken up in the same way, and the same results accrue from the proposed railroad. There is another feature of the proposition which does not present itself more favourably to my mind. We are told that the road is to be built by private Companies. I very much fear that instead of having it built within ten years, it will be advanced very slowly in order to suit the purposes of private speculators. We are told that if we make any change in this treaty we must send it back to British Columbia for ratification. I do not see that this would be unwise; if we find that this is a project that we should not entertain, that it is far too onerous for this country, then I maintain we should take the only course open to us, consistent with our duty to the country: We should not undertake, as honest men, what we cannot see we are prepared to accomplish. None of us would undertake to incur a debt or perform an obligation which we have no present means of accomplishing; and yet this is precisely what the Government are doing. If they trust to the future to develop our resources and enable us to perform our obligation, they are trifling with Providence and not acting according to the principles that should govern their action. British Columbia has a right to know what we can and ought to do—we should not hold out hopes to her people which we may not be able to realize. We are told that this work can be accomplished by means of private companies, but I cannot believe any such company will be obtained when it is known that this road is to cost what has been stated. If the company can be found to take stock in this road, we may be sure it will not be long before it will come to us and tell the Government that they must build it themselves. The Postmaster General was unfortunate in his remarks respecting public opinion on this question. I did not read all the newspapers, but I have seen a good many since the subject came up, and notice that very grave doubts are not only expressed in the *Globe*, but in one of the organs of the Government, the *Toronto Telegraph*, that we have made such a financial arrangement. The local newspapers throughout the country pretty generally admit that the scheme is unjust to the Dominion. Another point which I must refer to is the purchase of the lands. Whilst the Government undertake to incur so enormous an expenditure in connection with the railway, they agree to pay \$100,000 yearly in consideration of the lands advanced for the construction of that work. How the Government could ever have entertained a proposition of that character, I cannot understand. If British Columbia

has any interest in having this road built, and uniting with Canada, surely she ought to be willing to give up so much of her territory as will be necessary for the purpose of securing communication between them and us. The more I consider the financial features of the scheme, as respects the railway, the more I see their unfairness, and am convinced of my duty to oppose them. When we ask for delay, we are told that if we do not act promptly, we may lose the colony: British Columbia is connected with the same great country to which we belong. If the United States should lay their hands upon it or make any bargain with any body living in the colony to annex it, the act on the part of any one in the colony would be treason, and as respects the United States a cause of war with England. All that we need to do is to show our willingness to receive British Columbia, and endeavour to meet her wishes conscientiously and honestly, but within the measure of our ability. Although I have great hopes of the future of this country, and believe that its progress must be promoted by the acquisition of the North West and the development of its resources—although I have every desire to see the colony of British Columbia united to the Confederation, yet I cannot give my assent to propositions which would pledge this country to undertake what it cannot possibly perform, and under these circumstances I must sustain the amendment (hear, hear).

Hon. Mr. MACPHERSON.—The policy of admitting British Columbia into the Union is acknowledged by every gentleman who has addressed this House since the debate on the resolutions commenced to-day. Not only is the advisability of this policy admitted by the country at large, but the very Act of Parliament under which we sit here contemplates the extension of the limits of the Confederation to the shores of the Pacific. Inasmuch as that policy is admitted, there is no necessity for making any elaborate argument in its favor, what we have to consider is whether it is timely and wise to acquiesce in the terms on which it is proposed to acquire British Columbia. With respect to the time, I think it has been always acknowledged throughout the country that the sooner all the provinces on this continent are united under one Government, the better for the interests of the whole. Therefore, I think it is unnecessary to say anything as to the timeliness of entering into this arrangement, and I may proceed to discuss the terms. But before doing that I may say a few words with respect to the form in which this question is set before us. It has been commonly described as a treaty—a term rather too important, perhaps,

but, nevertheless, I use it for the sake of convenience, since it has been accepted in this debate as a proper mode of expression. We must therefore accept or reject it as a whole—we cannot amend it. So it is with reference to every agreement entered into between peoples or individuals. If the agents of two individuals agree upon an arrangement reserving for the principals to affirm or reject, the effect of altering it is to throw it back and leave matters just where they were before. That would be the effect of our amending this agreement with British Columbia. If we altered it in the slightest degree, that is doing what British Columbia never agreed to. Should we offer other terms, it would be necessary that British Columbia should have an opportunity of saying whether she would assent to them or not. It is better as it—that this more important body, which has to control Dominion affairs, and arrange the taxation of the whole Confederation, should have the last word in this matter and say whether we should close the bargain or not. The terms have been arranged under three heads—the political, financial, and railway. Now, with respect to the financial features of the scheme, every one must admit that it is absolutely necessary that British Columbia should have the ability to support her local government, and of meeting her local requirements. Now looking into the terms they seem to me fair and reasonable. The Dominion agrees to pay an annual subsidy of \$35,000, as in the case of the other Provinces; also, 80 cents per head, equivalent to \$43,000. These sums amount to only \$38,000, which is evidently altogether inadequate to meet the local wants of the colony. Therefore it was found necessary to supplement that amount by \$100,000—no very extravagant sum certainly. If instead of \$35,000, it had been shown that \$135,000 was required by British Columbia, in order to maintain her provincial services, and make such local improvements as she would require, this country could not have objected to give it, and that too without receiving any equivalent in the shape of land. Instead of that, however, the Government of the Dominion has stipulated that a strip of land, 40 miles wide, should be given along the route of the proposed railway in British Columbia. If the information we have respecting the country is at all correct, that land must become very valuable in the course of time, and I think the country has every reason to be satisfied with this part of the arrangement. With respect to the constitutional or political terms—the representation in the House of Commons and Senate has been particularly referred to. It is

quite true that it is not arranged quite in accordance with the terms of the British North America Act, but it must be remembered that those terms have been departed from in the case of other Provinces which have been added to the Dominion, and the Parliament has assented to the policy. The question is, whether would it be just to the Provinces in question, considering their isolated position and sparsely settled condition, to apply to them a principle which, carried out strictly, would probably leave them without any representation worth mentioning. Sound as the principle of representation may be, in the case of countries well settled, we must take territorial area and the circumstances of a colony into the account at times. It is certainly desirable that when we acquire any very great territory we should have in Parliament a certain number of gentlemen in both Houses to inform us with respect to the resources, condition and requirements of the country. The provisions respecting the railway have then been referred to as very objectionable, but it has been very justly remarked by the Postmaster General that whilst this arrangement was before the House for several months, there was scarcely an adverse opinion expressed in the press against it. The acquisition of British Columbia in fact, is merely carrying out a policy which led to the annexation of Manitoba and the North West Territory. Now, hon gentlemen will acknowledge that there will be no advantage in acquiring these territories unless there are communications opened up to enable immigrants to come in and fill up the waste lands and make them profitable. Two years ago when the subject of communication with the North West Territory was before the House, I had an opportunity of urging the necessity and propriety of opening up communications from the head of Lake Superior to Fort Garry through British Territory. We then had Mr. Dawson's Report before us which stated that for a moderate expenditure a very tolerable route could be opened up which would enable immigrants to be transferred from the head of the Lake for a very small sum. In point of economy it is the true policy to open up this communication in some way from the head of Lake Superior. I think every effort should be made to give us a secure and economical route for immigrants into the heart of the North West country. As respects the railway also, our policy should be as economical as practicable. I said at the time in question that the way to build up our country was to improve our communications and preserve friendly relations with the United States. Now a great deal has been said about the inju-

diciousness of building a railway through a comparatively *terra incognita*. I quite agree with gentlemen on this point, but I must again refer to what I said two years ago—that our policy should be to build a railway westward from Pembina to Fort Garry, and thence westward to the Rocky Mountains, and thoroughly to explore the country eastward from Fort Garry to the settled portions of Ontario. What does this resolution say?

"11. The Government of the Dominion undertake to secure the commencement simultaneously, within two years from the date of Union, of the construction of a Railway from the Pacific towards the Rocky Mountains, and from such point as may be selected, East of the Rocky Mountains, towards the Pacific, to connect the seaboard of British Columbia with the railway system of Canada; and further, to secure the completion of such railway within ten years, from the date of Union."

If the railways of the United States are built up to the boundaries of the North West Territories, as they will be very soon, why not avail ourselves of the facilities they will afford us and thereby save large expenditures for the present. Beginning our railway then, westward of the frontier, we can work our way easily and economically; we can carry materials and supplies without difficulty; and furthermore we will at once open up a country most suitable for emigrants. I do not believe any other course than this can be easily adopted under existing circumstances. I do not yield to any honorable gentleman in the desire to see an Inter-oceanic Railway through British territory, but we should advance prudently, using the American lines to our North Western frontier, build our railway westwards through our prairie lands, which are so attractive to settlers, and carefully explore the country between Fort Garry and Lake Nipissing, before undertaking to build a railway through it. I am not going to say anything with respect to the probable cost of a railway. There are no data which will enable any one in this House to make any positive assertions on the subject. We know that a great deal of the country through which it will run is prairie, and the expenses of construction there will not be very great. We also know from the experience of our neighbours, that railway companies have found prairie land a very profitable source of revenue. Companies that were considered ruined at one time have eventually made fortunes out of such property. I can imagine a railway which, built with the aid of land grants and a small money subsidy, will combine with the American system and connect us in that way with the

shores of the Pacific Ocean. Such a scheme would not involve us in any ruinous expenditures, but, connected with a comprehensive system of immigration, would have much effect upon the development of our resources. I am not afraid of those enormous burthens of which some hon. gentlemen have spoken being undertaken. I believe there is sufficient good judgment in the Parliament and Government to prevent any such ruinous results. It must be remembered too, that gentlemen from British Columbia will have places in Parliament, and will have an equal interest with ourselves in promoting the prosperity of the Dominion and preventing any unnecessary burthens being imposed on the country at large. It is absurd to say that the Exchequer of the Dominion is to be burthened with an expenditure of \$100,000,000—no one can seriously believe that there is any such design in contemplation. Would any government be insane enough to propose such a thing? Would the country sanction the policy? Or, in the next place, consider the utter impossibility of borrowing such a sum of money. It is not Parliamentary to suggest that gentlemen do not mean what they say, but certainly I do not understand how the hon. gentleman near me can think for a moment that the resources of the country will be burthened with \$100,000,000 to expend in this or any other enterprise. Whilst I could imagine a railway built without any serious burthen to the finances of the Dominion, at the same time I feel we have a very strong claim on the British Government for assistance to this project. I cannot doubt that that claim will be admitted in some way sooner or later. Of course many things may combine to delay the accomplishment of the project. A war in Europe would unquestionably prevent us getting money to build it—two or three bad harvests in our own country would have the same effect; but we hope that such calamities will not occur. If it is possible to build this road in the way proposed, the progress that this country will make during the next twenty years will be greater than we can now imagine, and enable us to meet any liabilities we may incur in connection with an undertaking which will be one of the chief causes of the increased prosperity of the Dominion. If gentlemen would only consider the progress of this country since the construction of railways they would look with more confidence into the future. Reference has been made to the Grand Trunk Railway, in the course of the debate, for the purpose of awaking fears in the minds of some gentlemen with respect to the proposed road. It ought by this time to be admitted that the Grand

Trunk Railway has contributed more than anything else to the progress of this country. If the rates of traffic which prevailed when the Company was first established had continued for three or four years after the G. T. R. was completed, the results would have been very different from what they were. The profits would then have fully come up to the promises held out in the prospectus. I would also say that I do not know of any country that has had its railways constructed so economically for herself as Canada. The expenditure upon railways in the Province of Canada—now Ontario and Quebec—was, as nearly as possible, \$125,000,000 of which the Province only contributed some \$20,000,000. Almost every other country situated as Canada is, that had to obtain money from abroad to build railways, had to guarantee a return of 5 per cent. I hope that this house will do as elsewhere and adopt these resolutions. My hon. friend spoke of dictation on the part of the other party to the agreement, namely British Columbia. I repeat that I cannot see any force in that objection. I think that whilst it is quite possible that the clause on the subject of the railway might be more clearly drawn up, it appears to be fully supplemented by the resolution that has been introduced elsewhere. I think that we may safely calculate on the progress that the Dominion has made and is making. Hon. gentlemen must admit that an unprecedented prosperity prevails throughout the country. Now it is obvious that had Confederation been the unwise measure that some gentlemen predicted, this prosperity would hardly now exist. The bounteous harvests, have, of course, much to do with the prevalent prosperity—much is due to the energy and industry of the people; but still Confederation, which has made us one people, and gives every section an interest in the prosperity of the whole, has tended to stimulate activity and develop our resources. All that we are now asked to do is to strengthen the Confederation by adding another Province, and developing resources which it must be hoped will enhance the prosperity and wealth of the Dominion, (applause.)

Hon. Mr. DEVER said he did not think it was necessary for him to say much on this subject, seeing it was so ably debated by both sides of the House already. The principle of Union, until all British America was united, was admitted by every speaker on either side of the House. All then that remained to be done was to settle on the details of this contract, and as he had no reason to change his opinion and refuse to entertain that confidence he had steadily held in the honesty, wisdom, and

legislative ability of the statesmen who projected Union, and had carried it on so far triumphantly, he saw no reason now to place his confidence in an Opposition, some of whom he knew to be actuated by no higher motives than infuriated disappointment. In answer to the remarks of some of the Opposition as to the value of the possessions in question no better answer could be given than the following statement taken from the *New York Tribune* of a late date. Speaking of the resources of British America the *New York Tribune* said: "The Red River and Saskatchewan territories embrace an area large enough for four or five large States of superior prairie and upland soil, with a good supply of coal and gold, and equal for agricultural purposes to Northern Michigan, Milwaukee, and Minnesota. Beyond the Rocky Mountains is British Columbia, abounding with gold, and containing the best and most abundant coal mines yet found on the Pacific Slope. It has a superior soil, a magnificent climate, and an abundance of fish. That colony is in every respect in 'natural superiority,' fully on a par with California and Oregon, and the Territory of Washington."

TUESDAY, April 4th, 1871.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at 3 o'clock, and the adjourned debate was resumed.

Hon. Mr. DICKEY.—It is impossible to approach the discussion of this question without being impressed with a deep sense of its magnitude. Last year whilst two of the foremost nations of Europe were engaged in a deadly struggle involving the lives of hundreds of thousands, for the possession of a mere strip of land on the left bank of the Rhine, this country was peacefully annexing a region nearly one half the size of Europe; and at this hour we are asked to consider the propriety of annexing a further piece of territory which will equal if it does not exceed the whole of France. Impressed with this view I desire to discuss the question with a deep sense of the responsibility which attaches to myself as well as to others who take part in it, and with a gravity and moderation adapted to the vital issues involved to us and to our children (hear hear). I shall refrain, on the one hand, from attempting to influence the House, by any dazzling pictures or the effects to be produced by this measure, on the other from pandering to prejudices by endeavouring to raise a bug-bear of the results likely to accrue. It must be confessed that we have been rather unfortunate in our negotiations with respect to the acquisition of territory. We proposed

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what were undoubtedly too liberal terms to Prince Edward Island and to Newfoundland and because of this perhaps they have been rejected. In the case of Manitoba we have been compelled to give £300,000 sterling for almost nothing so far as the persons who received that money were concerned. It was not for sovereignty, for that came from the Queen—it was not for trading rights, for those were left intact—it was not for possessions, for we left the Hudson's Bay Company's possessions intact, and we confirmed the titles of thousands of people who had derived their titles from them, so that many persons think we have given up the finest part of the territory. Since then we have been knocking at the gate of the Pacific with a view of getting Vancouver Island and British Columbia into the Union. The House has now before them the terms which were originally asked by British Columbia as conditions of coming into the Dominion, and those which have been agreed to by their Legislature and the Government of Canada. I am bound to say from an examination of the terms we are called upon to sanction that they are infinitely more onerous than those offered to us a year ago—it is probably the old story of the Sybilline leaves over again; and I for one regret that we should not have accepted them or some slight modification of them. Instead of committing ourselves to a policy of indefinite expenditure of money within a definite period of time, it would have been wise had we secured something like the terms on the question of the railway which were offered to us. Instead of being bound to commence this railway within two years, we were offered a limit of three years, and we were not required to construct this railway within a limited period.

At the outset of this discussion we are met by a constitutional objection which I cannot pass by since it comes from a gentleman whose opinions on constitutional and legal points are entitled to every respect. That hon. gentleman (Mr. Sanborn) has referred us to the 146th section of the Act of Union and doubted the constitutionality of our proceedings. Now there may be a great deal in the objection and if so it is only another proof among many of the incomplete manner in which the Union Act was framed, but if my hon. friend will permit me, I will refer to the section which he has quoted, which gives power on the address of the Houses of Parliament to admit Rupert's Land, and the North Western Territories, British Columbia, or either of them into the union "on such terms and conditions in each case as are in the address expressed, and as the Queen thinks fit to approve, subject to the Provisions of this Act," and the

Provisions of any order in Council in that behalf shall have effect as if they had been enacted by the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland." I put to my friend whether these words—they may be obscure but not such as to prevent us understanding them—are not sufficiently strong as to the mode of procedure. The Queen's order in Council is to be followed up by a proclamation. British Columbia asks to be admitted and we agree to the request. The Queen is the fountain of honor and she consents by her proclamation that these Senators shall be appointed. In section 28 the number of Senators is limited to 78. But perhaps the question may be settled in the Act about being submitted to the Imperial Parliament. At all events, so far as I am concerned I feel that the Government are responsible for the constitutionality of the Act.

I am not surprised at the objections made to some of the terms of this arrangement, which few I think will deny are of a most exacting character [hear, hear]. I think it might have been the wiser course for the government, could they have secured such terms in the negotiations as would have simply pledged us to secure the construction of the railway from the Pacific to our lines upon such conditions as they could arrange with Companies thoroughly examining the route. I regret some such arrangement was not made, but now that these resolutions are here we must take them as they stand. I cannot agree with my hon. colleague from Nova Scotia [Mr. Miller] who put down the cost of the Central Pacific Railway at \$32,000,000 to the United States Government; for on reference to an authority on the subject I find that the American Government for that line of 1774 miles gave a large subsidy equal to \$52,800,000 besides a guarantee for interest on an equal amount, and all this irrespective of the lands for alternate 20 miles sections. I am not willing to pledge this country to assume any such burthens, but I think when we come to consider the question, we will find that no such burthens are to be imposed upon us in the present instance. With the experience, however, of the United States before us, we have no reason to suppose that 2,500 miles of railway can be built for less than that amount of money. We have every reason to suppose that should the government undertake the construction of this work, we would be landed in an expenditure of at least \$150,000,000. The Companies in the United States had doubtless some additional capital of their own besides the government assistance which amounted to nearly \$60,000 a mile. We are now asked under these resolutions to construct the work

in ten years and I do not hesitate to say that so far as I am able to judge that is perfectly impracticable, and delusive. Suppose a war was to break out in Europe or on this continent, all these plans would be disarranged, or take the case of the Intercolonial Railway which is being built in a time of peace. A few days ago the Postmaster General said, in answer to an enquiry, that we are not likely to have the Intercolonial Railway finished in very much less than three years from this time, or seven years from the period of Union, and if seven years have been found necessary to survey and construct 500 miles near a continuous highway and stopped at half a dozen points by water communication, how long will it take, and how much will it cost to construct 2,500 miles at such a vast distance from the base of operations? In connection with this the House will see that one of the greatest difficulties we would have to encounter would be the cost of getting up supplies and materials along the route—the iron, say 100 tons per mile, and other plant, material, and supplies. All this shows that we should not delude ourselves with the idea that this is a work which is going to be surveyed immediately and constructed in the course of a few years. The smallest subsidy of \$32,000 per mile before mentioned was over a prairie country; for on one-third of the Pacific Railway, the railway followed the spade and the plough, and a mile was often laid in a day—the greatest difficulty was the moving of supplies. Were we to consider these resolutions alone I could not consistently give them my support, but we have had the matter put before us in a very different light. The Government, for some reason of their own, have been impressed with the idea that it was not desirable for them to undertake such a herculean task, and it is due to the Postmaster-General to say that in his able and persuasive speech he indignantly repudiated the idea that the Government intended to take such a burthen upon their shoulders. In addition to that we have the fact that the leader of the Government elsewhere has, in his place, brought down a resolution by which he asks Parliament to resolve that the Government shall not construct the work but that it shall be built by a Company by means of a liberal grant of land and by a subsidy commensurate with the finances of the country, and that these amounts are to be hereafter determined by Parliament. Under these circumstances the matter is presented to my mind in a very different light. I have not only confidence in the resolutions as a record of Parliament, but I have confidence that the Government will not withdraw from the solemn pledge

they have made in both Houses—that it is not the intention of the government to construct the work as a government work; and I say this the more emphatically because it would be contrary to all my principles in public life were I to consent that this work should be constructed in that way. For many years in Nova Scotia I was brought into conflict with persons who were advocating these government railways and the best proof that I was correct is afforded by the fact that at this very day, after the works have been assumed by the Dominion, we find the representatives of the people urging that these roads should be handed over to private companies. The government however repudiated the idea of undertaking the construction of this great work. My hon. friend from Wellington Division says that this does not appear in the resolutions; but he should remember that we are not dealing with foreigners but with persons who are to be a portion of our population and to take a share in the legislation of the Dominion, and they are not likely to agree to impose heavy burthens upon the whole country of which they are to form a part, and with whose prosperity they will be for all time identified. The hon. member should also remember that the question of the railway is not simply a British Columbia question. So far as we are concerned it is of Canadian importance for more than two-thirds the distance. We have the whole of the North West to open up, and that can never be achieved except by communications which will bring immigrants into the country. If my hon. friend had a dozen capitalists consulting with him as to a railway across the North West Territory, would he not have a better chance of getting good terms from them when he could give them a superior terminus on the Pacific shore, than by stopping at the foot of the Rocky Mountains?

My hon. friend from Toronto strongly urged the propriety of commencing the construction of the railway at Pembina, and taking it to Fort Garry and thence westward. This view is a rational one, and commends itself to us in many ways. If we have a line to Pembina connecting with the American system of railways we have the means of moving our materials and supplies with facility and comparative cheapness. More than that, you will have a tide of emigration following the road—the laborers, on the completion of the line will naturally settle alongside of it. Most of the land in the North West, so far as we know, is superior to that through which the American railways pass. The sandy desert which the American line crosses extends all the way up with an average breadth of some 500 miles to the

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North, and comes into the North West Territory, which now belongs to the Dominion, its apex resting upon the head waters of the Assiniboine. But the portion of it in British Territory is very small.—It is the only part of the great valley which is unproductive—all the rest of it has a soil infinitely superior to anything to the southward. You have there at once an inducement for immigrants to settle because you have the best land unencumbered by the forest which is often a terror to persons unaccustomed to that sort of life, and you offer homes to millions from other lands. My hon. friend from Nova Scotia said we had the best line on the continent; I am quite aware that we have the best pass through the Rocky Mountains. What the country may be over the steppes of British Columbia I cannot say, nor can he. Neither can we say what the features of the country from Rainy Lake to Lake Nipissing may be. These are some of the difficulties which beset me at the outset when I come to consider the propriety of building this railway within a definite time at an indefinite cost. But we are told we should pause before incurring any additional liabilities which we may find it difficult to meet. Have my hon. friends considered the steady progress of the population and resources of this country? Look at the opening up of the great North Western country—it must necessarily lead to great immigration not only of the young men of Canada, but from Europe who will become consumers and tax payers. Then we must take into account the effect of this enormous expenditure within our borders upon the increasing resources of this country (hear, hear). The Government propose to aid this work by a subsidy and land grant, but the persons who undertake it will have to take the responsibility of raising the capital, and that will be expended to a large extent in the Dominion. There is another statement of my hon. friend on the left (Hon. Mr. Miller) to which I can scarcely assent, and that is, as I understood him, that the effect of this line will be to divert all or a great portion of the eastern trade across this line, and he very forcibly and eloquently dwelt on the advantages of that traffic. He told us very properly that the people who possess the trade of the east generally rule the world in commercial matters. We should not mislead ourselves by anything that may turn out on experience to be mere assumption. We should not forget that the Suez Canal is in operation and that it has cut off two-thirds of the voyage from China and India to Europe, but still he is to a certain extent right, inasmuch as the tendency of this railway must be to attract a portion of this commerce. We have the advantage of

crossing the American continent at its broadest part and necessarily shortening the sea voyage. It will be a line which must have very great advantages over any other in the United States or likely to be built. Then again we lie pretty nearly in a direct line between England and China. I have no hopes of an enormous traffic, possibly silks and the finest qualities of teas may be brought over, but the great bulk of the trade must still be carried on without transshipment. The Island of Vancouver is to the Pacific what Nova Scotia is to the Atlantic; and here I confess that the interest of my native Province lies deep in my heart at this moment. We believe this is to a very large extent a Nova Scotia question. Every mile of railway west of Halifax is of the greatest consequence to that city—it can never be a matter of indifference to the people of Nova Scotia that the projected scheme, when carried out, may make Halifax the New York of British America. Therefore, we, who come from Nova Scotia, feel a deep interest in this question, and I am well assured that their votes to-day will show that they appreciate its importance. My hon. friend from the Wellington Division has put it to us very strongly why has not this resolution introduced in the Commons been incorporated into the address. If he refers to the Union Act, he will see that the two addresses from British Columbia and from the Dominion must be identical. Besides the British Columbia delegate is here, and I assume he, as well as his people, are satisfied with this modification of the terms; they ought to be, for what more could they reasonably ask than the pledge that the railway will be constructed in the most expeditious manner consistent with the nature of the country and a due regard to the financial exigencies of the Dominion. If not they can send another address to the Queen, objecting to the change, and no proclamation will be issued. This view ought to satisfy the reason and scruples of every hon. member, (hear, hear.) We are told by the member from the Wellington Division that Great Britain is about to leave us to ourselves; but on the authority of what British statesmen does he base such a statement. He may gather the scattered utterances of some of the Manchester School, but he cannot prove that what he asserts is the policy of the statesman or the people of England. I would tell him that, so far from its being the policy of England, it is the very reverse. Has she not been protecting us all along? Has she not been assisting in guarding our fisheries from the encroachment of foreigners? Do we not see her even contending in Council for the headlands line

which we claim in connection with these fisheries. It is but right when a public man makes such sweeping assertions he should be able to justify them by reference to some authority. The Dominion certainly is not aggressive—all we desire is peace with our neighbors—we have no fear of aggression on their part. With a considerable portion of their own people in a chronic state of dissatisfaction, they cannot afford to make any attack upon us; so that in their existing circumstances we have the best guarantee of peace. Would that I could impress these views upon those who are fighting our diplomatic battles at Washington. We make no defiance, but simply ask to be allowed to carry on our own business, and work out our own destiny, while we cultivate the arts of peace and friendly commercial intercourse with all the world. I confess that I have every confidence in the future of this Dominion. With an enlightened system of immigration, with the improvement of the Inland Navigation of the country, including the St. Lawrence which is the natural outlet of this vast basin and drained by its tributaries, with a wise, prudent and economical administration of public affairs, I have no fear that we shall not continue to prosper as a happy and united people (applause.)

Hon. Mr. CHAPUIS—The mover of the amendment to the present resolutions, having severely criticised them in a speech delivered in French, I feel bound to answer in the same language. The first complaint of the Hon. Senator for Grandville, is that there is in the present resolutions a violation of the constitution by the fact of giving to British Columbia a larger representation than she is entitled to by her population, and consequently a dereliction from eastern interest to the advantage of the western. I will undertake to prove that such is not the case. At the conference held in Quebec in 1864, it was agreed that in the Lower House the representation would be based on population, but that in the Upper House, there would be equality between the two large Provinces of Ontario and Quebec, and that the three Maritime Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island would form a group, and would be entitled as such to an equal number of representatives in the second House, that is to say, twenty-four for the three—it being understood that Nova Scotia and New Brunswick would have ten each, and Prince Edward Island four. These preliminaries, to a certain extent, had been established at a previous meeting held at Charlottetown, and at which Newfoundland was not represented. At Quebec, this last colony had sent two delegates, and provision had been made for

her representation in the Federal Parliament, if she choose to join Confederation and it had, moreover, been agreed that in that case she should be entitled to four Senators irrespective of those of the other Provinces, and this the British North America Act shows clearly and plainly. This was certainly changing the equilibrium first established, and it was the same principle that has been applied to Manitoba, and is now sought to be applied with regard to British Columbia. The arrangements made respecting the number of Senators for the Maritime Provinces, was to be altered when Newfoundland should enter the Union, and it is certainly just that what was to be done, in favor of the eastern colonies, should also be done for the Western ones when they enter the Union. So, I think that the hon. member has no good ground of complaint, because the Government has agreed to give two Senators to Manitoba, and three to British Columbia. If this policy was good with respect to the Maritime Provinces, it was equally good with respect to the western colonies who wished to enter Confederation. It has been said that agreeing to give six members of the House of Commons, and three Senators to British Columbia, was giving her more than she was entitled to. Well, I admit that it is so for the present, but I say that it is not really an injustice towards the other Provinces if we look to the future of that colony, and if we look to its vast territory, where immigrants will certainly resort in large numbers before many years. If we had given her only the exact number of representatives to which her actual population would have entitled her, it would have been an injustice towards her, because the basis of representation will not be changed for ten years hence, and there is no question that before that time her population will be vastly increased. By the present arrangement, and by giving three Senators to British Columbia and two to Manitoba, the western Provinces would have one Senator more than the eastern ones if Newfoundland was in the Union. When the terms of Confederation were discussed and agreed to in 1863, the Maritime Provinces were represented at the Conference by men fully able to guard their interests, and it was well understood that a real confederation could not be established without at the same time uniting the different Provinces by easy means of communication, and it was then agreed that the Intercolonial Railway should be constructed, and commenced within six months. Well, the same principle must apply with regard to union with British Columbia. The circumstances of



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the case are that we have invited that colony to join us; delegates have been sent to confer upon the terms of union; her geographical position was well known, and no one would think of bringing her into our Confederation without affording her people means of communication with the larger Provinces which invited her to join them. British Columbia has not dictated the terms and conditions of her union with Canada, as that honourable member was pleased to say yesterday, but we have objected to and amended the terms proposed by her and the changes have been accepted by her delegates. With regard to the construction of the railway I will show that the conditions embodied in the resolutions—which are in keeping with the policy already followed by the Government when they agreed to construct the Intercolonial Railway—are much more favourable to Canada than would have been the acceptance of the proposition made by British Columbia. In the first instance, here is that proposition: "Inasmuch as no real Union can subsist between this colony and Canada without the speedy establishment of communication across the Rocky Mountains by coach road and railway, the Dominion shall, within three years of the date of Union, construct and open for traffic such coach road from such point on the line of the Main Trunk Road of this Colony to Fort Garry, of similar character to the said Main Trunk Road; and shall further engage to use all means in her power to complete such railway communication at the earliest practicable date, and that surveys to determine the proper line for such railway shall be at once commenced; and a sum of not less than one million dollars shall be expended in every year, from and after three years from the date of union, in actually constructing the initial sections of such railway from the seaboard of British Columbia, to connect with the railway system of Canada." Such was the condition proposed by British Columbia, but the Government would not agree to it, although we substituted therefor another proposition having the same object in view, that is, the construction of a railway to the Pacific, but without the coach road. This railway, as honourable members are aware, is to be constructed in the space of ten years, and begun within two years after union. So, instead of two roads, only one is to be constructed. The time has been limited to ten years, because when the delegates found that they could not have the coach road made, they insisted upon fixing a certain time for the completion of the railway, and the period of ten years was accordingly agreed to. Dur- ing the first two years after union,

the proper surveys and explorations will be made, so that we may ascertain the best route to be followed, and then proceed to the construction of the road as economically as the circumstances will admit. Hon. members have discussed this subject as if the immediate construction of the railroad was under consideration, and as if we were called upon to vote a sum of money to that effect, but I think the resolutions now submitted do not bear that construction. The matter of fact is that we do not engage to construct the road at all, but that we are only asked to ratify certain conditions agreed to between the Government and the delegates for the admission of British Columbia into Union with Canada, and amongst others, that a railway shall be built at a future time. This is the only question now before the House; and before the railway is commenced, the House will be called upon to give its opinion on its advisability, and to accept or reject the scheme.

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST—Does not this engagement to construct the railway form part of the "treaty" entered upon with British Columbia?

Hon. Mr. CHAPPAIS—The "engagement" entered upon is the carrying out of the scheme of Union with the condition of the construction of the railway.

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST—Another member of the Government has said that the road would be constructed by the Canadian Government.

Hon. Mr. CHAPPAIS—I will not deny that this may have been said, but I will say that if a member of the Government has said so, he has made a mistake, for the intention of the Government is and has always been to have the road constructed by a private Company with the help of the Government, and it is the only way it can be made. The road will be constructed by means of grants of land and a subsidy in money, and nothing else. The hon. member said yesterday, that it was too soon to begin the road, because we know nothing of the country through which it is to pass. Well, I think I have clearly demonstrated that if we really wish British Columbia to be united with us, we must establish means of communication between that country and Canada. It is in the interest of both, and it is in the interest of the whole Confederation. It is for the Government to judge of what is in the interest of the Dominion, and they think that the sooner the road is constructed, the better it will be for the public interest; but there is no foundation whatever for the assertion made yesterday in this House that the delegates from British Columbia had dictated the terms respecting the construc-

tion of this road. The conditions offered were found to be just and reasonable, and in the interest of both parties, and they were agreed to by mutual consent, but there was no dictation of terms by them—and such a dictation would not have been submitted to by us. I repeat that the construction of the road is a matter of importance. It has been said also that there is no immediate necessity for the construction of the road to the Pacific, but I am of a contrary opinion, for it may be safely predicted that when the Northern American Pacific Railway is completed, with a branch reaching the Canadian boundary at Pembina, and I have recently read in a newspaper that the said branch will be completed during the present year, a certain class of emigrants will pour into British territory, which it is not our interest to have. What has taken place in Texas will be repeated in this instance, and we all know that Texas was wrung from Mexico by the influx of emigrants, who went there in such numbers as to create a majority adverse to the Mexican rule, and it is to prevent a similar result that it is important that we should have a road of our own to carry thither our own people. I will ask permission of the Senate to read extracts from a pamphlet I have in my hand, by which it will be seen what is the feeling of the Americans on this subject: "The Northern Pacific railway is advantageously situated for the early development of a very extensive area, reaching far into the British possessions on the North, and presenting a clear field to the South of millions of acres of land adjacent to it, to be made a feeder to this line by means of a branch road. The valley of the Red River, which runs almost due North into Canada, embracing one of the finest wheat regions in the world, will of itself for ever ensure to the Eastern end of the road a profitable trade; and the construction of a North and South railroad through the Red River Valley, connecting the main trunk with the region around Lake Winnipeg, will add largely to the business of the Northern Pacific line. The elevation of isothermal lines has shown that the Northern boundary of the United States, latitude 49°, an imaginary line, instead of being the Northern boundary of cultivable lands and habitable climate, runs South of a vast body of very superior quality of arable territory, only needing railroad facilities for its successful development. Extensive settlements are already there knocking at the door, asking American enterprise to open it and unite their commercial destinies with ours. The age of railroads has sealed the doom of political lines of demarcation, and the progress of events is gradually but surely dis-

seminating on this continent the spirit of self-government, the sure offspring of increasing popular intelligence, which must eventually, and perhaps very soon, remove the frail barriers which now separate the United States and Canada as Governments; but whether the two countries shall or shall not unite speedily in efforts to develop the region lying along the present boundary on both sides between the two countries and thus practically remove it.

Hon. Mr. SANBORN—Does the hon. Senator coincide with those views?

Hon. Mr. CHAPUIS—Certainly not, and it is precisely for that reason that I advocate the building of this our road. Well, hon. gentlemen, with views such as those expressed in this pamphlet, I must say that if the Government of Canada had neglected the opportunity of acquiring British Columbia and the North West territories, and delayed to establish immediately a railway line of communication between those territories and the other Provinces of the Dominion, they would have been untrue to the people of this country and underserving their confidence, but I am quite sure the people will ultimately approve what has been done with respect to this question of railway and union with British Columbia. As I have already said, the intention of the Government is to have this road constructed by private Companies, and to grant lands, therefor, and give a moderate subsidy in cash. There is nothing unusual nor impracticable in this scheme, for the Northern Pacific railway now being built in the United States from Duluth to the Pacific, is so constructed by means of grants of lands. The United States Government granted the Company lands amounting to 25,600 acres in the territories, and to one-half that amount, or 12,800 acres in each state through which the road passes. There has been no money grant, and what can be done in the United States can also be done on our side of the line for the same purpose. If our neighbours can thus construct a railway of 2,000 miles long by means of grants of land only, I ask why should we not be able to do the same, with an addition of a moderate subsidy in cash? And if an American Company finds it of its interest to make a branch railway to come to our own territory, why could we not construct one ourselves. By the construction of the railway now, the value of the lands will be increased, and by this means they will suffice for themselves to provide for its construction. British Columbia has agreed to grant fifteen million acres of land along the route, and there will be sufficient or nearly so for the con-

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struction of their part of the road. Immigrants will settle along the road, and thus it will prove a lasting benefit to British Columbia and Canada. Here is what we may expect from the arrangement entered into. The road is to be 2,500 miles long. Twenty miles on each side of the road, will make 64 million of acres. By giving a Company every alternate lot of twenty miles, the quantity given will be 32 millions of acres, which being put down at \$1 per acre, as estimated yesterday by the honourable Senator for Grenville, makes \$32,000,000; and if the Government grant also a cash subsidy, as has been said; of \$10,000 per mile of railway, this will amount to \$25,000,000, making an aggregate amount of \$57,000,000, leaving in the possession of the Government thirty-two millions of acres in their alternate lots.

But I think that the lands granted will sell, on an average, at about \$1.50 per acre, making \$48,000,000, which, with the \$25,000,000 of money grant, will leave only \$27,000,000 to be furnished by the company or companies undertaking the construction of the railway, if estimated at \$100,000,000, and if at the cost of the Northern Pacific, \$21,000,000. Well, this is not an extravagant sum, and I think we can easily find companies to undertake the construction of the road at the condition mentioned. In corroboration of these opinions, I beg to submit the following extract:—The Illinois Central received a land grant of 2,595,000 acres, mainly treeless or waterless prairies. Sales from this grant up to January 1, 1869, amounted to \$23,793,255, including interest on deferred payments, and there remained unsold 526,690 acres worth \$10 per acre. In other words the Illinois Central's grant of 2,595,000 acres when all sold will have yielded the company fully \$30,000,000, an average of more than \$11 per acre, and more than the total cost of building the road.

Much has been said in connection with the building of the Intercolonial road, and much exaggeration has been indulged in. The scheme, it seems to me, is large enough in itself, and its opponents ought not to prejudice public opinion by adding imaginary figures to its real proportions. Here again I am in a position to show things in their true light. The Hon. Senator for Wellington, Hon. Mr. Sanborn, said yesterday that the Northern Pacific Railroad offered on this question a fair mode of comparison. Well it is exactly the official approximate estimate of the cost of that road that I am now going to consider. From Duluth on Lake Superior to Puget Sound on the Pacific, the distance is two thousand miles, divided into six sections,

the cost of which respectively is given in detail and recapitulated as follows:

Grading, masonry, bridging, track and ballast.....	\$60,320,000
Sliding.....	4,200,000
Contingencies, including Superintendance and Engineering.....	5,000,000
Telegraph Line.....	600,000
Buildings.....	3,312,000
Rolling stock.....	3,615,000

Forming the amount of.....	\$76,047,000
To which is added interest on bonds over receipts during construction.....	7,230,000

Total.....	\$83,277,000
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Now if we apply those figures to our own road, which is 500 miles longer, and add for that purpose the appropriate amount, viz:..

20,814,250
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The exact figure to which we arrive is.....	\$104,091,250
Less 10 per 100 discount on American money, in round number.....	10,091,250

We have the real approximate cost of the road.....	\$94,000,000
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The honourable member for Toronto (Hon. Mr. McPherson) said yesterday that there was nothing in the resolutions to commit us to the construction of the whole length mentioned by me, but that we would only be bound to connect the seaboard of British Columbia with the railway system of Canada, and that it could be done through the American Pacific Railway when built from Pembina to Fort Garry. Well, I do not deny that this would be a proper way to make a temporary connection, but only until it would be possible for us to have a road of our own on our territory. The construction of the road from Fort Garry to the Rocky Mountains is admitted to be an easy task, but the route from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific coast has been made a bugbear to deter the members of this House from voting for the resolutions. I know that the part of the route west of the Rocky Mountains is difficult to overcome; but I know also that the easiest pass through those mountains is to be found on our territory. The Yellow Head pass is comparatively easy and is only 3,600 feet above the sea, and it is so easy that when the gold fields of British Columbia were discovered, a party of more than one hundred emigrants, with baggage and live stock, went through it, and only found that they had crossed it when they were on

the other side, and they reached Fraser river without any impediment or trouble. The distance from Fort Garry to the Rocky Mountains, 1,125 miles, is of an easy character, and the 600 miles following through the sea of Mountains, (as it has been called) is difficult, but much less so on our side than on the American territory, where two lines are being constructed. As for the argument advanced that emigrants might use the American railway to reach Fort Garry and the Pacific, I must say that if it was found impossible to construct a road of our own, it would certainly bear advantage to use it, but if that construction is possible, as I am quite convinced it is, it would be far more in our interest to build it and control it than to be dependent on a line held by strangers. The still fresh remembrance of the impression produced on me by the reading of a certain document of recent date, and emanating from a kind neighbour has strongly impressed that necessity on my mind. The argument adduced that it was proposed to construct a road through an unknown country, the difficulties of which would be insuperable in my opinion has but very little weight. I think that we may say that there is now nothing impossible to railway engineers of the present day. When we see that within ten years a tunnel has been pierced through the Alps for the passage of a railway, at an immense cost, and that during the progress of the boring of the reputed insuperable wall, the construction of a railroad has allowed the daring engine to awake the echoes of the undisturbed solitude of the Simplon, we may say that the construction of a Pacific Railway through the Rocky Mountains is a comparatively easy task. As for the climate and the nature of the soil of British Columbia, I can prove that they are most favourable to colonization. Here is what I find on these subjects in the report of the Engineer of the Central Pacific Road, already quoted. "The summer isothermal line of 70° reaches the Valley of the Saskatchewan about latitude 51°. The same isothermal passes through Chicago, Cleveland, Harrisburgh and Pennsylvania, on this continent, and through Southern France, Lombardy, and the great wheat growing districts of Southern Russia. These valuable Canadian territories, which, for the want of adequate investigation, have hitherto been regarded as valueless, are destined within a reasonable period to perform an important part in the progress of agriculture and commerce on this continent. Lines of trade are no longer the sole guides in determining the climatic characteristics or producing qualities of regions to the North, since experience has

shown that the chilling effect of high latitude, so marked on the Atlantic coast, is obliterated by the influence of the Pacific Ocean, and perhaps other causes not yet thoroughly elaborated or understood. Because the Rocky Mountains intervene between Canada and British Columbia, it must not be inferred that the whole colony is of the same character as those Mountains, and is unfit for colonization purposes. When, for instance, a traveller visits the Saguenay river and looks at its high rocky walls, he cannot conceive that the country behind it is of such a splendid character as it has proved to be, round Lake St. John and elsewhere. Well, it is the same with British Columbia, and the territories north of Lake Superior, for the whole length of the road, and I have proved that once the Rocky Mountains are passed, the country is as favourable as any part of Canada with respect to climate, soil, timber, &c. Referring again to the route of the Pacific road, I firmly believe that an easy passage will be found on proper surveys being made. I may mention as the result of surveys in parts of the country better known than the Rocky Mountains, and the region between Fort Garry and Lake Temiscaming, that part of the country, which has been so long settled, the Temiscouata road, which was used for fifty years as the only means of inland communications between Canada and New Brunswick, had been established on "a sea of mountains," and nobody knew of a better route. But when later engineers explored the country, they found a perfectly level tract and this route is now followed. The same may be said of the road between Quebec and Lake St. John. Up to a recent date, it was thought that the country between Quebec and Lake St. John, was so broken and tally that no practicable road could be built, and an expedition party sent by the honorable member opposite me (Hon. Mr. Letellier de St. Just) while he was in the Government reported unfavourably on the subject and the party themselves were on the verge of perishing by famine and hunger, but for the timely assistance they received from some bushmen they met in the woods. Well, some time after my entering the Government, a gentleman came to me and assured me of the existence of a favourable route for the construction of a road. I was at first disinclined to spend any more money for that purpose, after the results of three previous surveys, but the gentleman spoke so confidently that I at last consented to authorize another trial—and, I must say, that the survey was highly successful and resulted in the construction of the present beautiful road to Lake St. John.

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The name of the man who had found the route is Jean Gagnon, and I feel much pleasure in publicly acknowledging the services he has thus rendered to the whole Province of Quebec. In view of these facts I have not the least doubt that an easy passage will yet be found for the Pacific Railway through that section not actually known to travellers and unurveyed. The section between the Lake of the Woods and Temiscaming. As proof of my opinion and in vindication of the action of the Government in this most important transaction, I feel authorized to quote a few more extracts of an excellent work recently published on "The Red River Country," by Alexander G Russell, C. A.; to show that even this last section represented as "terra incognita" is not so much so as alleged. Speaking of "A Railroad to Red River by the Valley of the Ottawa," the writer says:

"The probability of a direct railroad route being formed by the valley of the Ottawa to Red River, has been to a great degree confirmed, as already mentioned by the recent survey of the Montreal River, a tributary which joins the Ottawa in Lake Temiscaming.

Hon. Mr. SKEAD—Hear, hear. This is the important route.

Hon. Mr. CHAPAIS—This route, for a railway to the Pacific, was, I believe, first proposed by Colonel Carmichael Smith, probably from information obtained from officers of the Hudson's Bay Company. "Strictly speaking, a straight line from Montreal to Fort Garry would touch the northerly bays of Lake Superior, near Plo Island; and the country along the shore of the Lakes, well known to be mountainous and unsuitable for a railway line; but as it is known the country behind is more favourable, and as the length of the line would not be increased in any appreciable degree by carrying it forty miles further north; but on the contrary, probably be slightly diminished, by having much fewer minor sinuosities from being in better ground, it is assumed that our route would be carried there.

"This character of the country which has long been well known to the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, and has been confirmed, as far as recent surveys of the northerly waters of the Ottawa have extended, is referred to by Provincial Surveyor Herrick, in his report of his exploratory survey in the country north of Lake Superior.

He says:—"From enquiries made amongst the Indians, as well as from the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, who have travelled much through the

country, I am informed that after from thirty to fifty miles of hilly country, round Lake Superior, is passed, a level country is reached, which extends from the height of land between Lake Superior and the Red River settlement east for several hundred miles and along the north of the sources of the tributaries of the Ottawa, that if at any future period it may be proposed to connect Canada with the Red River settlement by railroad, it does not appear that much difficulty will be experienced on this part of the route." The same description of the intervening country has long been given by officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, stationed on the northern waters of the Ottawa.

"In the unurveyed region before mentioned, the greatest difficulty will probably be encountered between the river Nipigon and Lac Seul, in the rise to the watershed; but that is necessarily less than five hundred feet or not more than will be met on the Intercolonial Railway before getting twenty miles from the St. Lawrence.

"These details are gone into so fully because it is not generally known that we have a favourable and most direct route to Red River shorter than any other can be."

"Therefore, if we do not have a railway through our own territory to Red River, it certainly will not be because we have not a favourable route for it, but for want of sufficient inducements or necessity for making it.

"The level clay country of the North, through which this route passes, seemingly for four hundred miles, presents as yet, no inducement, whatever to open it. But when the navigation of the Ottawa is improved, as far the Mattawan two hundred miles above the Capital a comparative small expenditure will carry it hundreds of miles further, to the head of Lake Temiscaming. This will entirely change the prospect of settlement; not only of the good lands there but also eventually of the clay country beyond it, should the soil of that great extent of entirely arable lands, prove as capable of improvement by cultivation as other clay soils are."

"It is difficult to conceive that a country fully equal to Finland with the great water system of the Ottawa leading directly to it should remain for ever valueless and uninhabited." In spite of the lengthy but important extracts already quoted, I cannot refrain from submitting to you the two following and last ones: I was informed by that experienced officer, Provincial Surveyor Sater that on making an examination Northward beyond the end of his line of survey near latitude 48° North

he entered the level clay country of the north, at about twenty four miles north of his line of survey, and found the surface very gently undulating and covered with a fair growth of tall maple, birch and spruce trees,—the upturned roots showing a soil entirely free from stones. From an eminence before entering it there were no hills visible Northward, as far as he could explore the horizon with his telescope, and the change from the rugged sterile country and poor growth of woods traversed by the exploring lines run by him and Mr. Sinclair nearly on the parallel of lat. 48° North to the luxuriant woods of level country, was very striking."

This actual verification of the position and character of the level clay country of the North, midway between the Montreal Railway or West branch of the Ottawa and Lake Superior, is so far very important, confirming, by connexion with definite survey, the fact that we have there a good country for a railway line and also for settlement.

"The Geological Survey of Lake Nipigon confirms and corrects the report of its great extent given by Mr. Armstrong. The area of its surface is equal to two-thirds of Lake Ontario. As far as is known by the survey of its shores—about 500 miles of circuit—nearly half of the land on it seems arable; and the presence of trap rock indicates a rich soil,—adding much to the extent of land known to be fit for settlement on the proposed direct line of railroad to Red River."

The undertaking of that road is not beyond the means of Canada, far less now than was the undertaking of other large public works some fifteen or twenty years ago. Canada has already carried out works far more costly and important than any other country having the same population, and as she is now much stronger than she was when she undertook those works, I think that she may safely go on in her career of progress and advance. This is the only way by which we may hope to preserve the existence of British rule in Canada, and by which we may hope to live and die under the glorious British Flag.

Hon. Mr. ALLAN.—In view of the length of time which this debate has already occupied, I do not propose to trespass upon the attention of the House for more than a few minutes, especially as I cannot hope to throw any additional light on the subject, or to add anything of importance to what has already been said in reference to these resolutions. However, in a matter involving such important interests—affecting not merely one section but the whole Dominion, and especially the Province

with which I am more immediately connected, I am reluctant to give a silent vote, and shall, therefore, ask your indulgence for a few moments whilst I state very briefly the considerations which induce me to support the resolutions and vote against the amendment proposed by my hon. friend from Grandville. In the first place I consider the annexation of British Columbia as absolutely necessary to complete the great work of Confederation—a work in which all those who took part in it have reason to feel no small pride. Of all the acts of the public men of this country, irrespective of party, I know of none to which they may look back with more pride and satisfaction than to those measures which have so far successfully resulted in laying the foundations of a great British North American nationality on this continent. I am aware that there are many able and honest men, both in Canada and the Maritime Provinces, who were opposed to Confederation at the outset, but with scarcely an exception all of them have now accepted the situation, and have shown their readiness to direct their best energies to strengthen and build up the new Dominion. Those who from the first have taken an active part in supporting Confederation have every reason to feel satisfied at the results which have been already attained. Any unprejudiced person looking back to what has taken place since 1867 cannot but acknowledge, that great and increasing prosperity has marked the course of the Dominion since that period. The trade between the Inland and Maritime Provinces has been developed to a wonderful extent, and we have every reason to hope that it will assume immense proportions, and the result of Confederation, so far, instead of being a source of ruin and bankruptcy, as some of its opponents were so fond of prophesying, has been a gradual but steady increase in the trade and commerce and the national prosperity of the whole Dominion. But I do not look upon the improvement in our national condition as the only important result, proceeding from Confederation. There are other conditions which I view as of equal, if not greater, importance. No reflecting man, looking upon our geographical position in reference to the powerful republic on our southern borders, and considering the many changes which have taken place both in the circumstances of the country and in our relations towards the Mother Country, but must repeatedly have asked himself within the past few years, what is to be the future of Canadians and their descendants on this continent? I venture to affirm that it is the earnest hope and wish of the vast majority of the people of

this country that the connection which has so long subsisted between us and the glorious Empire of which we form a part, may long continue as it is now (cheers). But if the time ever does arrive when we shall have grown out of that state, it will, I am persuaded, be equally the earnest wish of all the people of the Dominion, that we should then preserve our distinct national independence, as a British American Confederation [hear, hear]—a Confederation composed of a people whose descendants, we may hope, will exhibit some of the best characteristics of the races from which they have sprung—of the cool-headed, persevering Englishman, the “canny” Scot, the warm, impulsive Irishman, and the gallant sons of brave old France, (cheers),—the whole forming a nationality which shall be able to preserve its identity and independence on this Continent, and continue for generations to come, as a happy and prosperous people. There are some, I know, who look upon such aspirations as visionary, and who do not participate in them, but I believe they are very few, and that the great majority of the people of this country, consider the building up of a great British American Confederation as an object worthy of earnest and patriotic men, whether in or out of Parliament, and that all our policy and legislation should be shaped with that end in view. If these things be so, then no one can doubt that the admission of British Columbia into the Dominion is an actual necessity, that without it the work of Confederation would be altogether incomplete, and our position on this Continent would be both politically and commercially much less secure and advantageous. Listening attentively to the debate, it appeared to me that the only really serious stumbling block which has presented itself to the minds of the honourable members, is the construction of what has been variously called the Trans-Continental, the Inter-Oceanic, and the Canadian Pacific Railway, but it also appears to me after the best consideration I am able to give this subject, that the obstacles in the way of the successful accomplishment of this great enterprise are not so formidable as to be beyond our powers of surmounting them and that some of the difficulties suggested have been entirely the creation of hon. gentlemen's own imagination. One would suppose from what has been said by the opponents of these resolutions, that if they are carried, we are to rush blindly into the construction of the Pacific Railway without any regard to expense, or the possible burthens which may be imposed upon this country—that we were going into it rashly and without tak-

ing time to devise the most economical as well as the most speedy method of carrying it out. It seems to me that there is nothing in these resolutions to justify the conclusions at which some of my hon. friends have arrived. The time must come when we shall have a railway across the Continent, entirely through British Territory, and complete and direct communication with our Canadian system of railways, but while working to that end why should we not make use of all means within our reach to establish a railway connection with the North West and British Columbia, at the earliest possible day and at the least possible expense. If the American railways afford us any facilities or advantages in doing so, I do not see why we should not make use of them. My hon. friend on my left (Mr. Macpherson) has pointed out that by availing ourselves of the American lines of railway touching our borders at Pembina, and making the eastern terminus of our own railway for the present to connect with them, we can then build the road from Fort Garry westward, and thus establish communication with British Columbia at a comparatively reasonable cost, and without imposing any excessive burdens upon the Dominion. My hon. friend, I am sure, did not, for a moment, intend to be understood as suggesting the abandonment of a direct line entirely through our own territory, but simply that for the present we should avail ourselves of any facilities within our reach, to carry out substantially one of the principal objects of these resolutions, and while doing so, afford ample time and opportunity for exploring and deciding upon the best route for what is confessedly the most difficult part of the whole line, viz: that part of it between Ontario and Fort Garry.

Therefore, honourable gentlemen, it appears to me that if this great work is undertaken in the careful and prudent manner in which I think it may be done, the only really serious difficulty in the proposed scheme for the admission of British Columbia into the Union is done away with and whatever may be the difference of opinion in respect to other conditions of the union the objections do not appear to me to be of sufficient force to warrant the rejection. I have great faith in the future of this Dominion, with our fertile soil, our mineral riches, our vast forests, our extensive fisheries; and a population rapidly increasing in numbers and wealth I have no fear but that our resources will be developed to an extent quite sufficient to enable us to meet all our engagements heavy though they may be. I do not say that we have any right to look forward to a career of uninterrupted pros-

perity; unfavourable seasons, bad harvests, and occasional depressions in trade, may every now and then interpose a temporary check to our prosperity; but we have no reason to anticipate that it will be more than a temporary check.

Last evening an honourable gentleman opposite from New Brunswick read a long extract from one of Sydney Smith's letters in which that witty divine expatiated very bitterly on the worthlessness of Pennsylvania bonds and American securities in general, and the honourable gentleman taking that as his text, prophesied that if we passed these resolutions the time would come when some future Sydney Smith, should in like manner bemoan himself over worthless Dominion securities and British Columbian bonds! Well, honourable gentlemen are no doubt all familiar with Lord Macaulay's imaginary "New Zealander" sitting amid ruin and desolation, on one of the broken arches of London Bridge, and contemplating the remains of St. Paul's Cathedral and other famous edifices of the once metropolis of the world! but London still stands; and I would fain hope that the honourable gentleman's fore-cast of the future, may take as long to fulfil as Lord Macaulay's, and that the passage of these resolutions, instead of having the baneful effects which he anticipates, will prove but another step in advance in the material prosperity and political power of the whole Dominion.

Hon. Mr. SEYMOUR--It appears to me that the hon. gentleman who has just spoken has forgotten to consider the question of the cost of this scheme of Union, and the heavy burthens which it must necessarily entail upon the country. The Postmaster General, who spoke at considerable length on this question, and placed the matter in the best light he could, referred to the advantages of railway communication, and stated that the country had completed a railway system which had cost \$160,000,000. That was entirely new to me--I am not aware that Canada has ever completed such a system; but I do know that \$20,000,000 were advanced as a loan to certain railway companies, and this sum still remains unpaid up to this moment. My hon. friend has also stated in a very positive manner that the country is abundantly able to construct the proposed railway; and the hon. gentleman went back to the history of this country from the Union of the Canadas, when there was a debt of over \$5,000,000. I will not follow my hon. friend so far back as 1841--I can show, however, that there has been a rapid increase of debt and that our assets amount really to nothing. I will follow my hon. friend to 1854, which was an

eventful period in the history of this Country--it was the time of the formation of the Cartier-Macdonald coalition--it was also a time when nearly all the public improvements of this country, including the Canals and Railways, were completed. In 1854, our debt, direct and indirect, was \$88,000,000. At the date of Confederation our debt was \$78,390,000 showing an average increase of \$2,500,000 a year for twelve years, at a time, too, when comparatively little money was being expended for public improvements. This shows that the Government were really borrowing to pay current expenses and interest. The same state of things has continued since Confederation--the average increase is \$10,000,000 a year. The total debt is now at least \$100,000,000.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL--No, more like \$80,000,000.

Hon. Mr. SEYMOUR--It is at least \$100,000,000. Some say it is nearer \$120,000,000. There has also been a large increase of taxation since the period of 1854, and the Dominion has really little or nothing in the shape of productive assets to show for its enormous debt. Under these circumstances, I would like to know how this road to the Pacific is to be constructed, for it will cost from \$100,000,000 to 150,000,000 which must be provided out of the revenues of this country, ("No, No," from the government benches.) It must be remembered, too, that since Confederation, we have agreed to build the Inter-colonial Railway--the Railways in the provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick are all Government works, which we have to keep up at a large cost to the exchequer. How is the revenue to be increased to meet these liabilities? During the last session we saw how difficult it was to impose a small tax on coal and other articles. The measure was stoutly resisted. I gave my support to the Government on the question because I thought they really required the revenue. During the present session they have been actually forced to repeal the tax, in the very face of undertaking an expenditure of nearly \$150,000,000. If these resolutions are passed the faith of the Government will be pledged to the payment of the cost of constructing the road, the resolutions will have become law, and the Government will be bound by them. You must then choose one of two evils--you must carry out the law, or repudiate your legal obligations. As respects the amount of money which is to be handed over to British Columbia, I refer to the \$100,000 a year in prospective, it really amounts to a capital of two millions of dollars, for the purchase of lands of which





a pretty good amount to build a railway which will run through a portion of prairie land. Suppose we borrow the money, at the expiration of ten years, it would only cost 20 cents per head, divided among our population. But it is said that that sum will not build the road. Then looking at it in the worst possible light—supposing that the Government have to give \$50,000,000 and have fifteen years to do it in: for in my opinion, we are not tied down to the time of ten years, but simply promise to do all we can and to act in good faith—we would not have any very heavy burthen to bear. We would then be called upon to pay the enormous sum of \$1 per year per head for ten years to clear off the debt and build the road. Or suppose, from time to time we borrow the money, then, we will have to pay four per cent on the amount, instead of \$1 a year. In a prosperous country, like ours, we can easily raise all the money necessary for the construction of this great work; and, therefore, I do not entertain the feelings of apprehensions that some hon. gentlemen have. Supposing the population increases during the next 10 or 15 years 50 per cent—in my opinion, it will increase during the present decade as it has not increased during the past twenty years—the whole burthen imposed upon our people would not exceed 30 cents per head. With these views and taking the matter seriously into consideration, I consider it is my duty, irrespective of political considerations, to give this measure my support (hear, hear). I believe this is one of the most important votes that I shall be called upon to give for a long time to come, since the question before us is inseparably connected with the union of the Provinces. Let hon. gentlemen for one moment consider the extent of the colony now applying for admission—a country as large as England and two or three times as large and fertile as Ireland—and they will see its value to the Dominion. This measure proposes to open up a great Western nation—to construct a highway between the Atlantic and the Pacific—to give the European emigrant the means of making a comfortable home for himself and family in a rich country—to develop resources which are now inactive and unproductive. With these results accruing from the measure, I cannot believe that we need be alarmed as to the future. On the contrary, I believe that we belong to a prosperous and progressive nation which will never feel this expenditure. If this measure failed to be carried out, years might elapse before we would be in so favourable a position as now to make a commencement. Imagine a chain being run across the continent. Let the Nova Scotians

take the links of that chain and join together all the sections. I believe that it is necessary for the consolidation of British America that we should pass the resolutions, for without them the Government will have no power to order a survey or explore the country. I trust to-night when the vote is taken that we will shew that we fully appreciate the importance of the question. We pledge ourselves to the particular mode of construction, as stated by the Government, but if we find we cannot do it within the next ten years, in the way proposed, then they must come back to the House, and ask for additional legislation on the subject; and the answer would be: "You have acted faithfully and we will renew the bargain." Therefore, I ask the hon. members of this House, especially our friends from Nova Scotia, to take the matter into their most serious consideration and assist in the work of strengthening the Union and developing the resources of the whole Dominion. At the present moment, what we are endeavouring to induce a flow of immigration into this country, this measure of progress will have great effect—it will attract capital, enterprise and population into the undeveloped and rich territories of the West. The moment the surveys are ended people will commence to come into the country and take a share in the prosperity of the Dominion. It is for the good of mankind that these rich fertile lands should be opened up to the poor people of the over-crowded communities of the old world—who live in cellars, garrets and hovels, hardly able to find mere subsistence. Let us unite heartily to make this Union a success, and build up a great and prosperous nation in our land (cheers).

Hon. Mr. HOLMES said that the sentiments he had just heard commended themselves to his good judgment. He too believed that unless British Columbia was admitted into the Confederation, that great scheme could never be considered in a fair way towards completion. He was among those who believed Union inseparably connected with our prosperity, and wished to see it extended to the shores of the Pacific. He was an advocate of all measures of progress—of public works which would stimulate the development of our resources. He had now been many years in the country and had watched its gradual progress towards its present condition of prosperity. He had often heard before these predictions of ruin and bankruptcy, and was not now to be terrified by the bugbear which the Opposition was raising in order to influence members against the resolutions. He believed the large grant of land together with the subsidy given by the Government would be

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quite sufficient to build the whole road. He was surprised to hear the objections urged by some gentlemen, but it was quite sufficient for the Government to bring forward a measure to evoke the opposition of some hon. members. The House should not merely consider the money question, but how far the unity and progress of the Dominion were identified with the adoption of the scheme.

Hon. Mr. WARK.—Before I give my vote on this subject, I wish to explain my reasons. I am not one who opposed the Confederation of the Provinces. I was always an advocate of the Union, because I believed it was going to benefit us. I believe that it is desirable that we should introduce into the Union, not only the North West Territory but British Columbia, but now that the question is before us, I cannot agree to all the terms under which that colony is to come in. I am not going, however, to oppose the arrangement that has been made respecting the representation. I believe that it is no more liberal than the people are entitled to in view of their peculiar situation. So far as the financial arrangements are concerned, I am of opinion that when we take a new Province into Confederation, we must deal liberally with them. I expected that as New Brunswick was the least populous of the Provinces of the Dominion, she would have been more liberally dealt with; but, I regret to say, that my anticipations to some extent have not been disappointed; but still, I am willing to set to towards the other colonies in the same way, but to give them every consideration to which they are fairly entitled. I do not think that the people of British Columbia had a right to expect, that this country would launch into such an undertaking as a Pacific Railway on their own account. Although we have been contrasted with the United States, we are not situated as they are. They have gone on adding State after State. Ohio was settled after New York, then Indiana, Illinois, and so on, until the tide of population crossed the Missouri. We have between the habitable parts of Canada and Red River, a region of 1000 miles of wilderness. We talk of giving land along this route, but if you take up the Canadian Almanac, and look at the map you will see that the Ontario Government have marked off blocks of land for free grants, and these are likely first to attract settlers, for they will be nearer the railways, cities and towns of Canada, being situated between the 45th and 46th degrees of north latitude. But what is the value of the land we now propose to offer for the construction of the railway, which lies two or three degrees further north. No one can expect that cereals or even vegetables will ripen on

much of it. I admit that when we cross the Red River there is much valuable land, which anybody would be ready to take, together with the moderate subsidy spoken of by the Postmaster General; but supposing you had a railway built from Arnprior to Red River, what would you do with it. It could not pay its running expenses. Take the Grand Trunk Railway—it runs past Toronto, Kingston, Montreal and Quebec, and other large towns, and enjoys not only an immense way traffic through the rich Province of Ontario but a large through traffic from the Western States; but what after all does it pay to its stockholders? What then could be expected from a road 1,000 miles long passing through a region that will furnish little or no way traffic, and with a through traffic of the most limited nature. I do not think we should delude the people of British Columbia with promises which cannot be realized. I do not agree with these gentlemen, however, who say that these resolutions do not bind us—they undertake to pledge the Dominion to the commencement of the railway within two years. I believe that in British Columbia nineteen-twentieths of the people think that we intend to build the road within the time promised, but does anyone here entertain the opinion that it can be done—that any company will be found to undertake the work. It is folly for us to promise to construct such an enormous work for the sake of benefitting some 1,600 people. The people of the United States did not commence their Pacific Railway until they had wealthy and populous communities on the Pacific coast and noble States, teeming with activity, from the Ohio to the country beyond the Mississippi and the Missouri. More than that, there were upwards of 40,000,000 of people to assist the great work, instead of the 4,000,000 who live within the Confederation. The Americans would never have projected such a work for the benefit of only 16,000 souls. They had on the Pacific coast the populous State of California, abounding in mineral and agricultural resources, whose inhabitants were able and willing to extend their existing railway, and to meet the people of the East half way, as well as to give ample employment to the road when constructed, while we are asked to build a road nearly double the length of theirs, with no prospect of assistance to build it or of traffic to support it when built. I do not believe that our American neighbours have any idea of going to war with us. I believe it is their interest as much as ours to sustain friendly relations, and to reciprocate in many ways with each other. We reciprocate now so

far as our railways are concerned—a great quantity of Western produce comes by the lines which converge on Sarnia—and we should follow their example in this respect. As soon as there are enough people in Manitoba we should continue a road from Pembina to Fort Garry, and as soon as circumstances would justify the undertaking, extend gradually towards the Pacific, utilizing the American roads for immigration. Instead of giving the people of British Columbia the \$100,000, I would capitalize it, and that would probably give them \$2,000,000 to spend in improving their communications. I would give the necessary amount for the support of the Postal arrangements and the Legislature. I would afford them facilities for intercourse with San Francisco. I would give the people of Red River a railway from Red River to Pembina, where connection with the American system of railways will be made. I wish to deal fairly with these people, but not to promise more than we can undertake to do. Under all the circumstances I cannot believe that the construction of the road is possible, and must vote against the terms embodied in the resolutions.

Hon. Mr. FERRIER—When my hon. friend behind me, (Mr. Seymour) addressed the House on this subject he looked at the dark side, and I began to believe that I had been living for the last three or four years under an entire delusion as to our condition. I did believe that this Dominion was in a prosperous state and that all of us had every reason to be satisfied with the mode in which public affairs were being administered. Now I am told that I have been fostering a veritable delusion—that all this boasted prosperity of ours is purely fictitious. But despite the remarks of the hon. gentleman, I am quite content with the condition of public affairs and their management since the Confederation of British America; I have no doubt whatever that this country will go on prospering and that we will lay successfully the foundations of the new nationality. When I compare the state of things in 1821, when I first arrived here with what I now see around me—cities and towns increasing with great rapidity, wealth accumulating everywhere, public works stimulating the development of our resources, the whole country teeming with activity and enterprise—I am quite satisfied and congratulate myself that I live in Canada. When I consider the present scheme it does not strike me as if it appears to have struck others, that we are going to bring ruin and bankruptcy on this country. I remember perfectly well, some 30 years ago, when we were paying some 2½ per cent on our importations; and when the public exigencies required that the duty

should be raised to 5 per cent, we were told that the country was to be ruined. Subsequently the duty was raised to 7½ and the same excitement arose, and so it has gone on until we have reached our present tariff, and are more prosperous than when we only paid 2½ per cent. We are living in an age of progress and are carried onward by the spirit of the day—that restless spirit of enterprise which ever looks ahead. Last year the Government of Quebec offered large appropriations to railway companies, and these have been accepted by three. These companies propose to build their lines by means of these grants of land and some assistance from the municipalities; and I have every belief that they will succeed. In the case of the present road, I am quite sanguine that there will be no difficulty in inducing capitalists to undertake it. With the large grants offered, 20 miles on each side, I am much mistaken if before the next session of Parliament we shall not see a number of tenders submitted for the construction of that entire road (hear, hear), especially as there is to be a subsidy of \$10,000 a mile from the Government besides. The Northern Pacific road is now being constructed without any subsidy at all, and will be entirely built by means of grants of public land. Immigration must follow the building of such roads—the workmen employed must naturally settle along the route and the whole country become peopled in this way. I have very little faith in the predictions of my hon. friend (Mr. Seymour), for I remember that when Confederation was under discussion he drew a very gloomy picture of the Maritime Provinces—they looked to him as dismal as British Columbia does to-day. He referred then to Nova Scotia and especially to its revenue, but he was interrupted by the Postmaster-General, who showed that the revenue had actually doubled in one year. My hon. friend declared the lands in question to be worthless, but he is not corroborated by those who have visited the country, and are competent to express an opinion on the subject. In any case, it abounds with minerals, and fish are caught in great abundance in the waters around it. As respects the question of representation, the terms seem most equitable. When the two Canadas were united we had in the Lower Provinces some 50,000 more people than in the Western section, and the number of representatives was equal. In the course of time, however, the Ontario members forgot the circumstances under which the representation was arranged, and became clamorous for an additional number for a system based on population.

per cent. country was the duty was excitement till we have and are more paid 24 per of progress ward by day—that size which the Govern- appropriate these have companies y means of assistance have every In the case te sanguine in inducing With the on each side, re the next ll not see a for the con- near, hear), a subsidy of ument be road is now any subsidy ilt by means Immigration such roads— at naturally the whole this way. I redictions of for I remem- ery gloomy itime. Pros- s dismal as Hereferred specially to its ted by the wed that the in one year. and in ques- s not corro- the coun- dress an opine, it abounds ight in great ound it. As tentation, the When the had in the most people and the imm- quished: In the Ontar- cesses of fer was arranged, an additional on population.

Now, if the colony of British Columbia should increase very rapidly they would also be calling out for representation according to population. It is better to arrange the representation on some fixed principle as in the present case and prevent dissatisfaction in the minds of the people. I predicted additional prosperity as likely to accrue from the Confederation, and the construction of the Intercolonial Railway, and my predictions have been more than realized though that great work is not yet completed. I have no doubt that our expectations in the present case will also be fully realized, and that we are about entering on an era of unparalleled activity and enterprise throughout the Dominion (Hear).

Hon. Mr. GERRARD—I have listened with a great deal of attention to the discussion on this important question and must confess that I agree with a great deal that has been said on the other side. I am myself in favour of a union of British Columbia with Canada—I am also in favour of some scheme which will bring about an Inter-oceanic Railway. I believe that the time is not far distant when such a work will be accomplished. My objection to the measure before the House, however, is that it does not clearly and properly define the mode of constructing this important work. If the question was, as it has been stated by the Hon. Postmaster General, or by the hon. member from Saugeen, who spoke yesterday, (Hon. Mr. Macpherson,) I would not look upon the undertaking as unmountable. The Hon. Postmaster General declared that Canada, under the resolutions, was not bound to construct the Railway within ten years, nor did the Government intend it should be done at an unreasonable cost to the Dominion. "The intention of the Government was to offer to private companies grants of lands in alternate sections of 20 miles on either side of the proposed line of road with a cash subsidy of from seven to \$10,000 per mile, and the limit of ten years was named as indicating that every reasonable effort would be made to complete the work within that time. But the Government were not bound to that time." But the hon. member for Saugeen, (Hon. Mr. Macpherson,) gave quite another interpretation to the resolutions. He regarded railway connection between Pembina and British Columbia, as connecting the Pacific with the Railway system of Canada through the American lines, as meeting all the requirements of the resolutions before the Senate. I do not understand the resolutions to be open to either of these interpretations. I understand them to bind the Dominion

to accomplish this immense undertaking at whatever cost within the short period of ten years. It is upon this ground mainly that I oppose them. It is idle for members to declare that they put such and such interpretations on these resolutions—it is idle to bring up additional resolutions to say that the measure means something else than what is expressed. It is undignified to pursue such a course—it is unbefitting the Senate of the Dominion of Canada. If we mean anything different from what is expressed, we should take the proper and only course of stating so and refuse to become a party to a delusion. A large portion of the country through which the railway is expected to run has never even been explored. The only survey that has been made through that portion lying in Ontario with a view of finding a Railway route to the N West was that made a few years ago by Mr. Herrick along the North shore of Lake Superior—it was run at an average distance of 20 miles from the shore. We find that he considers a railway on that line quite impracticable. Speculators have led many to believe that there is a practicable route which may be found from 20 to 50 miles farther north, but until we have something distinct before us in the shape of a thorough and reliable exploration survey, we should not bind ourselves in the manner proposed by the resolutions. I do hope that a practicable route will be found, and that no time will be lost in making the necessary surveys; but in the meantime I think it is improper for Parliament to declare that we will undertake a work of this magnitude before we know whether we are able to carry it out. There is no reason why so much should have been promised on the part of the Dominion. British Columbia did not ask it—they would have been satisfied, as they stated in the communications on the subject, with the expenditure of one million of dollars per annum, towards the building of a coach road and railway. The manner in which this question is put before Parliament, is very different from the course pursued in British Columbia. There it was determined before agreeing to any plan of Union with Canada, the question should be first put to the people of the Colony. The Governor says:

"While the views of Her Majesty's Government have been clearly and forcibly expressed upon this question, I am sure there is no desire to urge the Union, except in accordance with its general acceptance by British subjects in the Colony. I do not, therefore, propose that any terms agreed upon by the Government of Canada should be finally accepted, until ratified by the general verdict of the Community,

so far as that can be ascertained through another Council, of which the unofficial members shall have been re-elected."

Although the population in that Colony is very small, the question is, nevertheless, submitted to them, whereas four millions of people in Canada are not consulted at all, except through the members of the Government. Parliament is not allowed to amend and improve the scheme, but must either accept it or reject it as a whole. The Government ought to have brought the question before Parliament in such a way that it would have an opportunity of improving the plan of Union, and making it more acceptable to the people of the Dominion. As respects other features of the scheme, I do not find so much fault. The people of the Colony are allowed a greater representation than other parts of Canada. They are a young community and entitled to some consideration in this respect. Not only would I grant them a sufficient representation, but I would give them all the necessary revenue for their local requirements; but to bind the Dominion to construct the Railway within 10 years at whatever cost, is promising too much. If the resolutions plainly stated that Canada would commence to construct this railway, as soon as the state of the finances permitted, then I would cheerfully vote for them; but to be so unequivocally committed to the construction of the road, within so short a period of time, is something to which I cannot agree. We must remember that so far as we know anything about the countries through which this road will pass, a great deal of it is exceedingly rocky and barren, except that portion of it which lies in Manitoba and along the Saskatchewan. In British Columbia the Cascades on the Pacific coast, the Gold, the Selkirk, and the Rocky Mountains, and in addition to these particular ranges, there are considerable portions of very rugged country, through which the road will pass. Down the Saskatchewan to Fort Garry, there is a rich agricultural country, that ought to be opened up, and through which a railway can easily be constructed. A moderate grant of land would build a railway along this fertile belt, and it ought to be constructed. From Fort Garry to Lake Superior it is possible to avail ourselves of water navigation, and a short railway is only necessary. A moderate expenditure of seven or eight millions of dollars according to Mr. Dawson's report, would accomplish all that was requisite. The very fact that we have so much water communication by the lakes, will enable us to lay freight down much cheaper at Fort Garry than it can be done by way of St. Paul. In the sessional papers of 1869, Volume 2,

Mr. Dawson estimates the cost of railway and water communication between the head of Lake Superior and Fort Garry, with locks and canals where necessary, at a total sum of \$5,800,000. Basing the estimate according to McAlpine's scale, which is generally adopted, Mr. Dawson shows that the cost of carrying a ton of freight from Fort Garry to Toronto would be, with such works completed only 5.35, while by railway from St. Paul by way of Chicago and Detroit to Toronto the freight is \$19.60 per ton—thus showing that the products of the North West may be brought to the seaboard at less than one-third of the cost required to carry freight from St. Paul. Then, this advantage can be secured by opening up communication through our own territory at a cost of \$6,000,000, why should we incur a liability of \$100,000,000? The Government should not have agreed to such terms of union with British Columbia. No hon. member of the Senate can desire more than I do the union of British Columbia with this Confederation; no one desires more than I do to see Canada a great and prosperous country. I will state further that I have great confidence in the future of the Dominion, but it is because I desire the successful consolidation of the Dominion that I oppose a scheme so extravagant as the one at present before the Senate and will support the amendment of the hon. member opposite.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL.—I presume few of us have ever taken part in a discussion which involves interests of greater importance to the future of our country than the present one, and it has been a source of great satisfaction to myself, as I am sure it must be to every gentleman present, to find the amount of calm and thoughtful attention which has been devoted to the consideration of this question. I feel at the outset in discussing the subject that I am carried back to the period when we were called upon to consider the question whether these British American possessions should remain isolated from one another or become united into one grand nation. I felt then as I feel now that the conception of that idea was one worthy of consummation, and that every effort of the public men of this country should be used to carry it out successfully. It has been said that the idea originated in consequence of the political necessities of old Canada—that the public men of that Province were unable to carry on Government and forced to introduce the Maritime Provinces as a means of adjusting matters. But a large portion of the people of Canada looked at the question in a very different light; they considered it necessary for the purpose of developing

the resources of British America, and perpetuating British power on this continent. I am glad when I look back upon the record of the past four years, to see around me some of those from other parts of the Dominion who aided materially in bringing about the consummation of this great scheme, and whatever may be said in the heat of debate or under the influence of party prejudice all must congratulate themselves on thoughtful and calm reflection upon the great success which has hitherto attended our efforts. These great results have not been unmarked by checks and disasters. At a very early stage in the confederation movement New Brunswick declared against it, influenced by the fears and predictions of the opponents of the measure who declared that ruin and decay, the loss of liberty and the deprivation of constitutional rights were certain to follow a union with Canada. But so soon as the people had time for reflection they, within a short period, reversed their decision, adopted the measure and consented to unite their fortunes with the sister Provinces, and what has been the result? In place of ruin and decay which was so freely predicted we have at this moment a state of prosperity in New Brunswick unsurpassed by that of any other country, and this too in the face of the repeal of the Reciprocity measure which our American neighbours predicted would ruin us and force us into annexation. Our agricultural districts are flourishing while in our cities and villages, the increase of the various branches of manufacturing industries is very gratifying. Nova Scotia too is prosperous notwithstanding the dangers which were predicted and the agitation which has been created against Canada. Since the union in 1867 the Provinces have gone on step by step consolidating and developing their resources and last year by the acquisition of the North West we extended our possessions to the base of the Rocky Mountains. When that important step was about to be taken and Parliament was asked to decide upon it, we were told by gentlemen opposite that we were bringing trouble and taxation upon the country—that we could not govern it—that it was useless to us as a possession and prophetic utterances in no measured terms were unsparingly made, and how have they been verified? The best answer is, that there are but few who will venture to express the doubts they formerly entertained of the wisdom of the accession and the country fully justified the action of Parliament in relation thereto. We are now asked to accept as a member of our Confederacy the fine Province of British Columbia, one greater in territorial extent than the extensive Province

of Quebec and twice as large as the fine Province of Ontario, and which, if accepted by Parliament, as I feel assured it will be, will extend Canada far beyond her present western limits, at the base of the Rocky Mountains to the shores of the Pacific, and yet we find some of the honorable gentlemen opposite uttering predictions in relation to this measure, which bear a strong resemblance to those to which I have referred as having been made in reference to confederation and the North West acquisition and which I trust and believe will prove as unfounded. British America will thus have become practically united from the Atlantic to the Pacific. It is true that the Island of Prince Edward and Newfoundland still stand aloof, but their union with us is only a question of time and however desirable it may be to bring them in it is much less an object to us of financial interest than one of national pride, and when that event occurs it must be only when their own interests as well as their inclinations induce them to seek for admission, and until that period arrives we should not desire their union with Canada.

It has given me much satisfaction to notice the cordiality which has prevailed during this debate notwithstanding the differences of opinion which exist on the part of gentlemen opposite and on reviewing the arguments which have been presented against the adoption of the measure, I find that they are narrowed to a few points. While some few object to the financial, and others to the constitutional arrangements, or the proposed representation which it is proposed to give the Pacific Province, the principal objection taken is against that part of the scheme which provides for the construction of a Pacific railway within a period of ten years. It is not disputed that it is desirable to admit British Columbia into our union, and the questions, which the Senate have now to consider, that principle being generally admitted, are first:—Are the terms which are contained in the resolutions equitable and just as well to British Columbia as to Canada, and, if they are, is Canada able to carry out the engagement which these resolutions will impose upon her without materially adding to the taxation of the country or increasing its burdens in such a manner as to affect its prosperity? And is it necessary that a railway should be built at all? Upon the first point I will not trouble the House, as the hon. the leader of the Government here in the opening of this debate very ably explained the terms of the arrangements which it is proposed to make with British Columbia and while he admitted their liberal character on the part of Canada, demonstrated

to the satisfaction of this House their fairness and the necessity which existed for the concessions which were made, and I do not understand hon. gentlemen generally to object to that part of the scheme, but I deem it to be due to the House to answer the remarks of those hon. gentlemen who object to the construction of a railway at all, and who further state that Canada is unable to carry out her engagements in reference thereto and predict ruin and discredit to our country as the result.

Now I would beg to remove an impression that seems to have taken possession of the minds of some hon. gentlemen that the proposed Railway is built in the interest of British Columbia alone, or that it is to be viewed as the price of her admission—this is not strictly the fact, and it is unfair to that Province and to this important measure so to consider it. It was clearly understood when the North Western Territory was acquired that without Railway connection between Canada and that Country, its acquisition would be a burden while with such connection, that vast and fertile region would at once become a point of attraction in the emigration from Europe to the West. Now it is estimated that the length of the proposed railway from the shores of the Pacific to connect with the Canadian system of railways will be about 2,500 miles, of which there are 1900 miles in Canada, and 600 miles in British Columbia, and it is, therefore, unfair to charge upon the latter Province that it alone is the cause of its construction throughout its entire length, as in any case we would have had to connect ourselves by railway with the North West; 'tis true this might have been a work of greater time, and its ultimate completion might have been more or less remote, but yet, as a national necessity, it had to be done, and without it that country would shortly have drifted away from us into the great Republic upon our borders, and we should, therefore, not ascribe to the Pacific Province alone the responsibility of imposing upon us the construction of the railway—the acquisition of the North West created the national necessity and the admission of British Columbia merely engages us to hasten its completion. The hon. gentleman from New Brunswick (Mr. Wilnot) has warned the House against the measure and has read, at some length, from Sidney Smith and other authors, quotations in relation to repudiation of Pennsylvania Bonds and given us the history of the South Sea Bubble, and has endeavoured to liken to the visionary scheme last named, which had no object but money and the enrichment of a few individuals, and no

promoters but the reckless speculators of that day, the great scheme of a British American Pacific Railway, whose promoters are a nation of free and enterprising people, and the objects of which are to extend the civilization and settlement and to complete the union of a continent—there is no similarity in the cases and the prophetic though melancholy predictions of that hon. gentleman will prove fallacious in this case as they were in others with which he is conversant in connection with the history of his own Province. The hon. gentleman, as one of the delegates who promoted confederation, should not forget his repeated declaration on that occasion that without a connection by railway through British territory no union between Canada and the Maritime Provinces could be maintained, and the same principle applies to British Columbia.

The hon. gentleman from the Wellington Centres (Mr. Saffron) has stated the case fairly enough as divided into three propositions:—the propriety of the union; the mode in which that union shall be accomplished, and the financial arrangements including the railway. In no portion of his argument has the hon. gentleman taken exception to the principle of union, but has confined himself to our ability to carry out the terms. He takes exception to our undertaking to build the railway at all and more especially to the limit of ten years to do it in. He contended that no Company can be got to build it for the land grants and money subsidy, which Government have indicated as the assistance which will probably be given. He has illustrated his position by reference to the Northern Pacific Railway, which, he stated, could be built more cheaply than ours. He has declared that the Government are taking up this scheme without information as to whether a railway is practicable or not, and he further states that a very large portion of the territory in British Columbia, through which the proposed railway will pass, is unfit for settlement, while the section of county East of Fort Garry to Nipigon lake, is of a still more objectionable character, inasmuch as in addition to its being unfit for settlement, the broken character of the country renders the construction of a railway impossible, and that even were it built, it would be impossible to work it for snow. While the Hon. Senator from Kent (Mr. Wark) adds to the list of difficulties that the country lying between the lakes and James's Bay, and thence on to near Winnipeg is not only unfit for settlement but incapable of cultivation, that even coarse grain and vegetables cannot be produced from its soil, and that no employment can be supplied by such a country to



a road when built. It has been stated in another place and repeated by the Hon. Postmaster General that the Government cannot propose to build or work the road themselves, but expect to do it by means of a liberal land grant and moderate subsidy in money to a Company to accomplish that object. The expectation of the Government is that 20 miles of land on each side of the road throughout its entire length should be set aside for the construction of this work—of this reserve the company should be offered one half thereof in alternate blocks of 2½ miles on each side of the railway. I will now speak of the cost of the road, and for the purpose of illustration will divide it into three sections, and of this I may say that until more accurate explanations and surveys are made any estimate which is given must be a mere approximate one. The Government, however, have not gone into this matter without the best information that could be obtained, and they have the assurance from an Engineer of standing, which gentleman is very conversant with British Columbia and is now within hearing, and, who himself has made an exploration of a line of railway across our North West possessions at the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific through the Province, that the road is quite practicable and that even with the high price of labour which prevails in that country, that the 600 miles of it through British Columbia can be built for \$60,000 per mile, which would give the cost of that portion at \$36,000,000. That gentleman further states that 213 miles of the land through which it passes is of good quality and fit for settlement, and a considerable portion of it far above the average of settlement lands in Canada. The second division, commencing near the sources of the Saskatchewan and extending through the Red River country a distance of 1,500 miles is largely composed of prairie lands, and though an hon. gentleman has stated the cost of railways on prairie lands at \$20,000 per mile, I have placed the 15,000 miles of that section at \$30,000, or a total of \$45,000,000. Then I estimate the most eastern 400 miles, computing the whole distance at 2,500 miles, at \$60,000 per mile, or \$24,000,000, making in all a total cost of \$105,000,000.

(Mr. Mitchell here went on to show that the funds likely to be realized from the land grants and the money subsidy would be nearly sufficient to meet the foregoing estimated expenditure, and then continued:)

To the objection that no company can be got to build this road, I answer that on the Northern Pacific, which

runs within a short distance of our southern boundary line where it crosses Red River, a company is building that road on land grants alone without any subsidy, through a country a great deal like our own, and where it differs from ours, that difference is in favour of Canada. I am informed that the company has already over 200 of its road built, and is progressing rapidly. If, therefore, the Northern Pacific Company can build their road on land grants, surely we have no reason to doubt that with the additional facilities which we have to offer, that we will get ours taken up. As to the ability of Canada to fulfil her engagement in reference to this road, I need scarcely say that her condition never was more prosperous than at present. Her revenue is ample for her wants, covering her public works, upon which large annual outlays are made. The annual percentage of increase of population is beyond that of the United States, while a much greater increase must be looked for through the settlement of our new territory, so soon as facilities for transport are afforded. This increase of population alone will give a revenue which will contribute largely towards the payment of the subsidy, but it will be remembered that we have the 20 miles of land reserved in alternate blocks along the whole line of railway, from which a railway fund could be secured on the faith of such land reservation. And in addition to this, we have millions of acres of land in the North West beyond the railway reservation. I do not deem it necessary further to refer to the ordinary sources of revenue as a means of enabling Canada to meet her engagements as that has been already ably dealt with. Doubtless, the subsidy will be so arranged as to make the future provide for its fair share of the cost of this Government work, and thus avoid the danger that its construction will unduly press upon the present generation. But hon. gentlemen say, we cannot construct the work in ten years. If we can get the means to construct the line at all, we can do it in ten years, and if it is to be done then, 'twere well to do it quickly and give the present generation the benefit of its use. The Central Pacific road which was constructed through a much more difficult country, was built in three years, and I can see no reason why ours should not be built in ten. But if we assume that from any unforeseen cause, we should fail in having it completed within that time, but that we, in good faith, commenced and progressed with the work as rapidly as it was possible to do it, does any one believe that any difficulty would arise from such a course or British Columbia could find fault? I certainly do not, and

while some hon. gentlemen have taken exception that it is so written in the Bond, and that the resolutions should be rejected and be again remitted back for the consideration of British Columbia. I think such a course is fraught with danger. The Parliament of that country would at once claim the right to open up and discuss each individual item of the conditions, and thus defer indefinitely the consummation of what we so much desire. The Government have, however, endeavoured to meet this objection as far as it is possible to do so on this point, without endangering the measure, by introducing a resolution explaining what they mean by the provision to construct the railway in ten years, and I have no doubt that this will be acceptable to British Columbia. It is important in considering the ability of Canada to carry out her engagement, to look at the character of the lands through which this railway will run. I have already stated the opinion of an Engineer of standing in reference to those in British Columbia, and in confirmation thereof, I will quote from a paper read before the Geographical Society of London in 1869, a description of a portion of that country through which it is proposed that the railway shall run, that for 300 miles in length it runs through "a rich plateau of cultivable soil generally heavily timbered, and capable of producing any kind of crops." In reference to this plateau it is stated that it contains millions of acres of good ground where large tracts of land are sure to be taken up as soon as the first communications are established. The writer further observes "that the Indian horses pass the winter out of doors without fodder or stabling, the best proof that the winters are not very severe," and while speaking of a portion of the country as rough, clearly indicates its fertile character and adaptability for cultivation, and grazing. With reference to that section of the country which extends from the Rocky Mountains eastward it is universally admitted to be most fertile in its character, level, fertile and with a good climate and presenting no impediments to the construction of a road, and for many hundreds of miles is of such a character that carts and waggons can be driven over it in its natural state. What a contrast to the corresponding section through which the Americans have to construct their roads to the Pacific. Dr. Henry, of the Smithsonian Institute, says: "The progress of settlement a few miles west of the Upper Missouri River, and West of the Mississippi beyond the 98th degree of longitude, is rendered impossible by the condition of climate and soil which prevail there. The Rocky

Mountain region and the sterile belt East of it occupies an area about equal to one third of the whole surface of the United States, and which must now remain of little value to the husbandman." Professor Hind in his report says: "The arid districts of the Upper Missouri are barren tracts, wholly uncultivable from various causes. . . . Along the 32 parallel the breadth of this desert is least, and the detached areas of fertile soil, greatest, but the aggregate number of square miles of cultivable lands amounts only to 2,300, in a distance of 12,100 miles." The State Geologist of California thus describes the Colorado desert, through which the Northern Pacific Railway runs: "Its area is some 9,000 square miles and, excepting the Colorado River which cuts across its lower end, is without river or lake. It stretches off to the horizon on all sides without one glimpse of vegetation or life, its surface is ashy and parched; its frame of mountains rises in rugged pinnacles of black rocks, barren of soil; local storms of dust and sand are prevalent. Parts are entirely destitute even of sand, being smooth compact sun baked clay; other parts are covered with heaps of sand disposed like snow drifts in waves of 50 or 80 feet in height."

Yet this is the character of the country through which the American lines of Pacific Railway are either built, in process of building or projected. Yet we are told that with the fertile lands of the North West, with a fertile belt of the finest prairie land stretching from the Red River to the Rocky Mountains, that Canada cannot build her railway through her fertile prairies though the Americans can construct theirs over the barren desert; and, in addition to this, the passes through our territory are neither so long, so difficult of approach nor at so great elevations as are the most favourable ones of the American routes, nor are there so many ridges to cross.

Another of the objections stated by honorable gentlemen is, that the country south of Hudson's Bay and stretching west to Fort Garry is unfit for cultivation and so mountainous and rocky in its character as to be incapable of being utilized.

Now, I am at a loss to know where the authority is to be found for such a statement. I have referred to the latest works which treat upon that country and I draw entirely different conclusions as to its character. Mr. Alexander Russell, C.E., in the recent edition of his work, fresh from the press, and no higher authority can be quoted in reference to the character of that country, states that the coun-

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try at a short distance to the north of Lake Superior loses its rugged character and generally declining in its height merges into alpine plateaus of fertile plains well suited for settlement; he says:—

"This declination in height and peculiar character of the range we mention, not only as meriting notice are descriptive of a large part of this section of territory, but especially because they are of importance to us and admitting of a most direct line of railway from Montreal to the Red River Settlement (and the Pacific) about 400 miles shorter than the route through Minnesota now used; as favourable as to the character of the ground, as much as what is to be made of the Intercolonial Railway in the country between St. Lawrence and New Brunswick and passing through much land as fit for settlement and with as good a climate, but with less depth of snow in winter."

I would also refer, in confirmation, to the report of the surveys of that section of Provincial Land Surveyors Sinclair and Forest, fully confirmatory of the above statements.

Now, in reply to the statement of the unfitness of that country for cultivation, let me quote from the evidence of Mr. Gladman who resided 15 years at Moose Factory on the Hudson Bay, and has stated, "that the climate and soil are good, that he raised potatoes and other vegetables there in great abundance—that barley ripened well, and that horned cattle, horses, sheep and pigs were raised in abundance at this point, 230 miles north of the boundary between the territory and Canada. He adds that the soil and climate of Albany, which is 100 miles further north, does not differ much from Moose. At New Brunswick House, which is 5,100 south, he says, "the soil is very good, that excellent potatoes and every description of vegetables are raised there, oats ripened well, and wheat raised with success, and that he does not know of anything to prevent a good settlement from being made there, but it being rather distant from market."

Mr. Russell confirms these statements and speaking of the Hudson Bay Territory westward of James Bay and towards Winnipeg, says: "That the country and climate improve equally southward and westward, the western side of it even to its north west angle is wooded thickly and plenty, the Great Central Region suitable for cultivation."

Professor Hind, in his report, confirms the character given of the country as above, and states that wheat is sown 130 miles north of Fort Francis about the 20th of

May, that Indian corn ripens well and that potatoes had never once, during five years cultivation, been injured by frost.

Sir John Richardson tells us that at Fort Francis, on Rainy river, where this rich tract of alluvial land commences, wheat is sown from the 1st to the 23rd of May, and abundant crops reaped at the end of August.

Mr. Russell also states and gives good and sufficient reasons therefor, that the climate is more genial "and of decidedly greater warmth" after crossing the height of land than it is on the shores of the lake, and that this wilderness extends for several hundreds of miles to the North.

Mr. Dawson, in his admirable report in speaking of the same district of country and while confirming the character above given to it, says: "That the south western part of this territory will, therefore, become the site of an important trade, while its rivers and numerous lakes offer some abundant fisheries than those of the great lakes of the St. Lawrence while the fisheries of the Hudson and James Bay are mere prolific and abundant than were our Atlantic and sea coast fisheries

In the face of such testimony, it will scarcely be repeated that the country through which we propose to build this great work is sterile and barren; on the contrary, the authorities upon the subject, and those who know it best, pronounce it to be valuable for settlement as well as rich in timber and magnificent fisheries. I may here state several gentlemen of Toronto called upon me within the week, with a view of ascertaining the value and character of these Hudson Bay fisheries, and stated that they contemplated the projection of a railway to place Hudson Bay in connection with the Toronto system of railways, and I have no doubt but ere long we will see this project carried out. The enterprise shown in the Province of Ontario warrants the belief that, with so rich and fertile a back country as the North West and Hudson Bay are, with the fertile prairies of the former and the valuable fisheries and timber which characterize the resources of the latter as well as mineral lands of the Lake Superior region, all the inducements to railway extension in the West are too great to be overlooked. I must here notice one remark of the hon. member from the Wellington Division. He says that the Act does not permit the admission of British Columbia on the terms which we propose. My reading of the 142nd section to which the hon. gentleman referred, does not to my mind bear the construction he puts on it. The fair and just interpretation is that whatever terms ma

be agreed upon—whether in respect to the financial arrangements or the representation in Parliament—by the Legislature of British Columbia and the Parliament of Canada, shall become law, so long as they are not at variance with the provisions of the Union Act, but are in accordance with it. The hon. gentleman also read another clause and said nothing was mentioned about representation in the Senate. I had the honor of being one of the gentlemen who framed and submitted for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government, these resolutions on which the Union Act is based. The question of the representation of Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island only were discussed—it was not believed that we could immediately acquire the North West—much less was it thought that we could bring in British Columbia within so short a period. I am pleased that the results have gone ahead of our anticipations; but now that the country is brought in, I am sure that the Parliament of Canada will accept the terms of admission. I believe that this Parliament will not hastily reject them in consequence of the view entertained by some gentlemen that the resources of this country will not be able to carry out what the Government have submitted for the consideration of Parliament. But it is said that we should first carry out what we have promised—that we should first complete our canals, railways and other public works which we have undertaken. We are making fair progress with our public improvements—we are constructing the Intercolonial Railway as rapidly as possible, and we have adopted the best means in our power to obtain information with respect to the Canals of the Dominion; and I do not think that the Government is fairly open to the taunt that they have failed to fulfill their promises. Nor do I think that the great object of uniting the British possessions on this continent should be left incomplete until our canals are despatched. The hon. member also propounded the statement that the policy of the Government of England is separation from Canada; but I cannot see that there are any facts to prove this. There is nothing to authorize us to believe that the intelligent people or Parliament, or the Ministry of England desire for a moment that the most prosperous and powerful of her colonies should be separated from the Empire. The same despatch which stated the fact of the withdrawal of the troops declared explicitly that the whole force of the Empire would be ready to assist these colonies in the time of danger. At this very moment the telegraph is informing us that the Under Secretary of State has

submitted to Parliament a scheme for the Union of the West India Islands, and this step is not taken to promote separation, but the contrary. So far then from Great Britain consenting to the policy of disintegration, she is thus endeavouring to build up another Confederation to perpetuate British influence. My hon. friend opposite (Mr. Letellier de St. Just), in addressing the House on this subject appealed to the prejudices of his compatriots.

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST.—I did not appeal to the prejudices of any one.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL.—I am bound to believe the hon gentleman, but certainly I understood him to state that while granting pensions by these resolutions to gentlemen in British Columbia we were turning out our own people with comparatively little remuneration, and that during the last three or four years we had dismissed officers of the public service without giving them any pension.

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST.—I have not in any way referred to the Minister of Fisheries. I referred to the time when that hon' gentleman, with others, did not find it advisable to pay pensions to those whom they were turning out of office, whilst they were giving those pensions to men in British Columbia.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL.—The case here is very different. The gentlemen to whom he refers were officers in connection with the old Parliament of Canada and no obligation rested on the Dominion concerning them. No obligation rested on the Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick to give pensions to men from whom they had never received any benefit, and in whose case they recognized no responsibility. In the case of British Columbia we know that there are only five at present entitled to pensions under these resolutions, and it is not expected that more than two of these will receive any. These men held their appointments from the Imperial Government, and it is only in keeping with Imperial policy, that in the proposed change, that Government would expect that those officers should be provided for, that their circumstances should be favourably considered. The hon. member from the Wellington division has declared that we have only consulted the interests of British Columbia. Hon. gentlemen know perfectly well that British Columbia presented a request to us to be admitted into the Union. We invited delegates to discuss the question, and the conference was held in due season, and certain terms arranged. It was demanded in the original proposition that

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there should be a waggon road constructed. Knowing the desire of the country to have a railway through the Saskatchewan territory, and believing it was only throwing away money in building a waggon road, we arranged the present terms; and notwithstanding the remarks of some hon. gentlemen I think the House will agree that we have made a reasonable calculation and provision for the work. Then consider the national advantages that must accrue from this measure. We are now the third greatest maritime power in the world. At the present time France has not as much tonnage as we have, and before ten years pass away we will have made great advances in maritime importance, for the railways and public improvements now going on or in contemplation will stimulate industry and commerce, and our ships will have more than they can do. We have the timber, the coal, the fish, to require the employment of a large amount of tonnage and to give employment to a hardy maritime population. In conclusion I will merely say that I am confident that the future historian, of this country will refer in laudatory terms to the action of Parliament if it adopts the resolutions which have been submitted for its consideration, and which I trust will be the means of consolidating British power on this continent, and forming a new nationality whose limits East and West will be the shores and islands of the Atlantic and Pacific (applause).

Hon. Mr. SKEAD—I approach this subject with a great deal of reluctance, but representing as I do the Ottawa district in this House I am unwilling to give a silent vote. Having been an advocate of Confederation since its first inception, some five or six years ago, it is most gratifying to me, as it must be gratifying to the people generally to find that the scheme has worked so satisfactorily. Reviewing the progress of this great question, we find that five Provinces have been united and now the sixth is applying for admission into the Confederation. With respect to the terms under which British Columbia is to come in, I may say that I cannot see much in the objections that some hon. gentleman have raised against these resolutions. It seems to me, after listening attentively to this debate, that the Government are not pledged to involve this country in any large expenditure. Manitoba was annexed to Canada last year and we are under pledges to make a highway to it. I believe it is for the interest of the country we should pass these resolutions, and that if we were to send them back to British Columbia for a modification we might delay the union indefinitely. Delays are dangerous, and we should not run any

risk in a matter of such deep importance to the public interests. There are some little difficulties looming up on our frontiers— even at Pembina things are not altogether satisfactory and the sooner Confederation is accomplished the better. There is the little island of San Juan—an object of dispute so long. That question should be settled, but it can never be whilst British Columbia is left out in the cold. I believe if we hesitate to bring her in, she may be induced to refuse to join her fortunes with those of the Dominion. What will be the fortune of Canada if we are shut out of the Pacific—what chance will we have of the carrying trade of China and Japan? I take it that the Western terminus will be on the Pacific coast and the Eastern will be in the city of Halifax. I hope the day has arrived when we are going to have something done in the centre of our country and not exclusively on our frontier. When the Dominion Board of Trade met here a few weeks ago, they recommended Canals on the frontier but the Ottawa was left out in the cold. I want to see the limits of Confederation extended to the far West. The other night my hon. friend from Toronto said that this railway should terminate at Pembina. I believe we are bound to build the road through our own territory. I must enter my protest against any assistance from the Government that will make the connection with the American railways south of line 45°. I contend if the money and lands are to be given to the railway, it must go through the valley of the Ottawa river. Sixty miles north of Lake Superior, you have as favourable a country to build a railway as from here to Montreal except that it is well wooded. My hon. friend from Kent said that these lands are not worth a dollar an acre, I am astonished to hear that statement, for I can prove that every acre we have is worth that price.

Hon. Mr. WARK explained that he had never referred to the Ottawa valley.

Hon. Mr. SKEAD—I misunderstood the hon. member in that case. I landed in this country some 40 years ago—Quebec was only a small town and Montreal had not a larger population than ten or twelve thousand. Immense strides since then have been made in the development of all our resources. A great deal, however, still remains to be done, and I expect during the next ten years, still greater progress will be made in wealth and prosperity. I have great faith in the future of this country and cannot believe we will cripple our resources by giving the proposed assistance to a railway which will of itself increase our wealth. It has been well said that

Railways have been great civilizers—if we build this road through the Western wilderness, towns and cities will soon spring up and population and capital follow in its track. I for one am quite prepared to assume the responsibility of voting against this amendment and in support of the Government resolutions. I believe this measure is but the inevitable corollary of the resolutions passed at Quebec, and that it is inseparably connected with the future success of the Confederation.

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER: DE ST. JUST proposed adjournment as the hour was late.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL thought it was as well for gentlemen to continue and bring the debate to a close.

Hon. Messrs. Bureau, Dickson, and Dickey, urged an adjournment.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL consented.

The debate was accordingly adjourned.

The House then took up the orders of the day, and adjourned about midnight.

WEDNESDAY, April 5th, 1871.

The SPEAKER took the chair at 3 o'clock.

The debate on the British Columbia Resolutions was then resumed.

Hon. Mr. McMASTER—My views on the question have been so fully explained by my hon. friend from the Wellington Division and other gentlemen who have followed on the same side that I feel it is idle for me to occupy the time of the House at any great length. I merely rise for the purpose of offering a word of explanation with respect to the vote I intend to give to-day. Some of the speeches delivered in the early part of this discussion seemed to partake largely of the spread-eagle style indulged in so frequently by our friends across the borders. Some hon. gentlemen, too, would have us infer that those who voted against the resolutions were not only opposed to the admission of British Columbia on reasonable terms, but to the Confederation generally—a statement which is, in my opinion, exceedingly unfair. (Hear, hear.) I voted in favor of the measure whilst a member of the whole Legislative Council of Canada, and supported it through all its stages, and I have been ready to support any measure that has for its object the consolidation of the Union and is likely to render it a success. I am sincerely desirous of doing everything in my power to draw the different Provinces more closely together—to dispel sectional jealousies and

prejudices, and secure the largest amount of material prosperity that it is possible to obtain under the circumstances. I am quite willing to admit that the political aspect of this question should not be overlooked by gentlemen who take an interest in the progress of the Dominion. It would be unwise to delay the settlement of the question for any great length of time. As respects the representation proposed to be given to British Columbia, it is greatly in excess of that accorded to the other Provinces under the Union Act; but that is a matter which time will remedy. With reference to the financial arrangements, I may say, that if not extravagant, they are much more liberal than those given to the other Provinces, and necessarily unfair to the Dominion; but at the same time I would feel it my duty to support the resolutions, were it not for the clauses providing for the construction of a railway, the cost of which I hold to be far beyond the resources of this country. (Hear, hear.) It is all very well to talk of its not being the intention of the Government to act upon these resolutions—that they do not contemplate spending a large amount of money. I give them credit for all sincerity, but we know their views may alter; and we have not so much to do with present intentions as with what the resolutions provide. I hold that when these resolutions are adopted they will have the force of law and that there is every probability of this road being constructed without reference to what the expense may be. The road, we may be sure, cannot be constructed except at an expense that must necessarily entail very serious burthens upon the country. The important question suggests itself, how is this road to be kept up? Reference to some of our leading roads in Canada may afford us some valuable information on this point. I refer, for instance, to a railway which may be considered probably one of the most prosperous and best managed in Canada—I mean the Great Western, running through a territory which is really the garden of Ontario. The traffic on the line is very large, and then, as most of you are aware, it connects with the Eastern and Western systems of railways from which it derives a large part of its business—no less than 60 per cent. Notwithstanding all these favourable circumstances, which have assisted it ever since its construction the shareholders have not received more than from 2 to 2½ per cent on their outlay. The Grand Trunk Railroad may be regarded as still more favourably situated in some respects—connecting as it does with the shipping of the world at Quebec and Portland—commanding the immense trade of Montreal, King-

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 can railways, East and West. At the same  
 time I believe that I am correct in saying  
 that up to the present date shareholders  
 have never got any dividend at all. Under  
 these circumstances how is it possible for  
 this railway, even if you can construct it,  
 to pay its running expenses. No railway  
 can be started under more suspicious cir-  
 cumstances than the Central Pacific Rail-  
 road. It is now in full operation; it has  
 the trade of 40,000,000 of people; it re-  
 ceives a large amount for the transportation  
 of stores from the Government. Its income  
 from these sources is immense, and yet  
 it is well known in railway circles that the  
 road does not pay. In view of all these  
 considerations, and our experience of rail-  
 ways in this country, I am satisfied that if  
 this line is constructed, and the country  
 burdened for all time to come with an  
 enormous debt, that will not even be the  
 end of our trouble; for it will be an ever  
 increasing source of expense to the Domini-  
 on. It is well known that a large quantity  
 of the land through which this road  
 is intended is not worth 20  
 cents an acre, and is, therefore, folly  
 to say that we are likely to make lands of  
 such a character available for the construc-  
 tion of the work. But I feel that I ought  
 not to weary the House any further with  
 my reasons for voting against resolutions  
 committing the country to such a danger-  
 ous policy. I shall therefore content my-  
 self with saying that desirous as I am of  
 supporting the measures of the Govern-  
 ment in connection with Confederation and  
 making the Union a success, yet I cannot  
 give my assent to these resolutions, but  
 am bound to vote for the amendment, as  
 decidedly most advantageous to the public  
 interests. (Hear.)

Hon. Mr. MACFARLANE—My hon.  
 friend who has just sat down, is, doubtless  
 a high authority with respect to the pay-  
 ing qualities of railways on this Continent—  
 if I were interested in railway matters, to  
 no one would I more readily apply for in-  
 formation. He seems, however, to look  
 at this question from a very narrow point  
 of view. He only considers the amount  
 of dividend returned to the stockholders,  
 and does not take into the account the  
 advantages which these works confer on a  
 country. We now know that there are a  
 number of railways which have been really  
 constructed by the Dominion, and do not  
 pay—for instance the roads in Nova Scotia;  
 but, nevertheless, they are developing our  
 resources and promoting the material  
 prosperity of the country to a very great  
 extent. The Grand Trunk Railway may  
 have been a very expensive work to con-

struct, but I would like to see any man in  
 the western part of the Dominion who  
 would willingly see the road stop its  
 operations to-morrow. I do not intend to  
 enter into any elaborate argument, with  
 respect to the political or financial aspect  
 of this question; for gentlemen generally  
 agree that British Columbia ought to be  
 admitted into the Union, and that it is  
 entitled to a certain share of the repre-  
 sentation in this Parliament, and very lit-  
 tle exception is taken to an arrangement  
 which gives the people of the Colony suf-  
 ficient money to meet their local require-  
 ments. I confess, however, that I looked  
 with some distrust at first on the clause  
 in reference to the railway—it seemed to me  
 that it might impose a heavy burthen on  
 the country. But when I heard the ex-  
 planations of the Hon. Postmaster-General,  
 as to the manner in which this road is to  
 be built—when my hon friend near me,  
 (Mr. Macpherson,) showed there was a  
 cheap mode of effecting the necessary  
 communication with the Pacific shore, my  
 apprehensions vanished. It is urged, on  
 the other hand, that the Government are  
 pledged to build this line themselves; but  
 I am of opinion that, under these resolu-  
 tions, we only bind ourselves to obtain  
 the construction of the road by a grant of  
 public land and a small money subsidy to  
 some private company; and all this I am  
 sure can be done without burdening our  
 resources heavily. British Columbia her-  
 self will soon form a part of the Union,  
 and be equally interested with ourselves  
 in promoting the prosperity of the Domini-  
 on, and keeping the expenses within  
 moderate limits; and it is therefore idle  
 to say that she is trying to lead this coun-  
 try into a reckless expenditure. No one  
 can doubt, that since the establishment of  
 Union a great stimulus has been given to  
 the development of our resources—that  
 commerce has increased—that there is  
 abundant money to carry on the ordinary  
 transactions of trade. I feel naturally  
 some interest in this matter, for I have  
 been among those who took a part in the  
 initiation of the scheme of Union. As re-  
 spects Nova Scotia, I have no hesitation  
 in saying that she exhibits an amount of  
 prosperity she never exhibited before, and  
 is in a better condition to develop her  
 resources than at any previous time in her  
 history. I believe that the proposed plan  
 of Union with British Columbia will still  
 further strengthen the Confederation. Un-  
 der these circumstances, I am prepared to  
 give my support to the resolutions intro-  
 duced by the Government.

Hon. Mr. CHRISTIE—in common with  
 other gentlemen, I have supported Con-  
 federation from the beginning—while, a  
 member of the Legislative Council of Canada

I supported that scheme, and I just as firmly believe, as any friend of the present plan, that it is necessary to the success of the Union, that British Columbia should be admitted into the Confederation. But although still a friend of Confederation, and the admission of British Columbia as a member of the Union, I do not conceive that I pledged myself to support any scheme which might be introduced by this or any other administration. I cannot support this scheme because I believe the terms embodied in these resolutions will be found to be very onerous to the people of this Dominion—it is a scheme which in itself cannot be productive of the advantage claimed for it to the people of British Columbia, and it must certainly be most injurious to the inhabitants of this Dominion. The Postmaster General in introducing this measure, did it in a very pleasing and able manner. I think he made the most of a bad case in placing the matter as he did before the Senate. His speech is able, from his own point of view. He divided the subject into three propositions. First, Representation; secondly, the Financial arrangements; and, thirdly, the Railway. He told us that "were we to deal with British Columbia, or had we dealt with Manitoba on the principle of representation by population, they would be left without representation at all." I believe that the Government have dealt with this territorial question, not as they ought to have dealt with it. Manitoba, with her present population, ought not, in my opinion, to have been admitted to representation in Parliament, and if that were the proper rule in the case of that Province, it ought to be applied to British Columbia. Perhaps the best plan to pursue would be that adopted by the United States with reference to the Territories. There, no territory can be admitted as a State, unless it has a population something like 100,000, and until that number is realized, a very cheap form of territorial government is established. Each territory has the right to send one delegate to Congress—he may take part in debate but cannot vote. The territories of Washington, Idaho, Montana, and Dacotah are the nearest parallel, adjoining as they do our North-Western frontier, they have a population of 73,674, according to the Census of 1870, yet they have no vote in Congress. In this connection, the following statement of the expenses of their territorial organizations will be interesting:—

*Washington.*

Population—Census 1870.	23,901
Area, miles	60,944

Governor	\$ 3,000
Secretary of State	2,000
Treasurer	fees
Auditor	500
U. S. Attorney	250 and fees
3 Judicial districts with a prosecuting Attorney in each	200 and fees
Chief Justice and two Associates	2,500 each
Marshal	250 and fees
Lands to be disposed of	41,600,000

*Idaho.*

Population, 1870..... 14,998

Area..... 90,932

Governor	\$ 2,500
Secretary	2,000
Treasurer	percentage.
Comptroller	2,000
Supt. Instruction	1,600
Judicial Districts with Chief Justice and two associates	3,500
Revenue, 1867	64,059 26
Payments, "	53,005 76
	\$ 6,053 50
Total debt, Dec., 1868.	\$100,558 25

*Montana.*

Population, 1870..... 20,594

Area..... 143,776

Governor	\$ 2,500
Secretary	2,000
Treasurer	700 and fees
Auditor	700 "
Attorney-General	200 "
Secretary Board of Agriculture	700 "
Supt. Public Instruction	700 "
Chief Justice and two associates	3,500 each
Receipts, 1866	56,620 50
Payments, "	56,346 10
	\$ 274 40
Total debt	\$110,786 47

*Dakota.*

Population, 1870..... 14,181

Area..... 152,000

Governor	1,500
Secretary	1,800
Treasurer	75

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14,181
52,000
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Supt. Instruction ..... \$ 3 per day  
 Attorney-General ..... 250 and fees  
 Chief Justice and two associates, each. .... 2,500

These territories have only one delegate, each, in the House of Representatives, and are not represented in the Senate at all. Now in the case of British Columbia we propose to give her six members in the House of Commons, and three in the Senate, although her total population is only 15,000 at the highest estimate I must say such an arrangement is altogether unjustifiable. It is not certain that even until the completion of the railroad, this representation will not be altogether disproportionate to the population. The exact state of the population, numerically, is not known, but includes a large number of Indians who are perfectly worthless. Mr. Arthur Harvey, in a pamphlet giving some statistics of the colony, says that the Indian population are really of no account in the labour market. We have the white population stated at 15,000, and they are represented to be of "extravagant and wasteful habits." At least, such is the character given them by Governor Musgrave himself; and yet they are to have this large representation in Parliament.

The Postmaster General said that the financial arrangements were published three months ago, and yet no opposition has been offered to them in the press. Now, this statement is not correct, for I have looked over the newspapers from Ontario since this question came before Parliament, and with very few exceptions they censure the arrangements. Even the *Toronto Telegraph* has opposed certain portions of the terms and regretted that they are of such a nature. The Postmaster General said that the revenue of British Columbia from customs, excise and postage, and steamers made a total of \$363,500. Then he gave the other side of the account: Interest on debt, \$100,000; Subsidy to Government, \$35,000; 80c. on 60,000 population, \$48,000; Pensions, judiciary, &c., \$30,000. I would like to know what proportion of this amount is for pensions.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL—It is difficult to make an estimate of the pensions at present—all, or nearly all of them, may take service under the Dominion and render pensions unnecessary.

Hon. Mr. CHRISTIE—We may then estimate the amount between four and six thousand dollars. This item is not large, but it strikes me as very objectionable in principle. I am not aware of any pensions having been granted in the Initiation of Confederation. But to continue—the

amount for collection of Customs is put down at \$15,000; Mail, Steam and Telegraph, 63,800; Lighthouses, \$9,500; Militia and Geological Surveys, \$25,000; Hospitals, \$10,000. Then, we must add \$25,000 for the graving dock; \$100,000 for the payment of land. The total amount, therefore, will be \$461,300 against \$373,500, or \$97,800 annual cost above revenue. If we look into the local resources and expenditures, we find that the local revenue left by the Dominion amounts to \$151,000; 80 cents per head, \$48,000; subsidy, \$35,000; interest on debt, \$25,000. This makes a total amount of \$259,000 against an estimated expenditure of \$212,000, leaving a balance over expenditure of \$47,000 in favor of British Columbia. This, added to the \$97,800 before mentioned, gives the colony \$144,800, and represents the annual cost to the Dominion, over revenue, including the payment for land. The whole arrangement is most unfair to other sections of the Dominion, and the amount derived from the 80 cents and subsidy, nearly ten times the allowance to Ontario, according to population. Contrast the expenditure of \$212,000 in British Columbia with the \$56,000 or \$60,000 expended in the adjoining territories of Washington, Idaho, Montana and Dakota, and you will see how extravagant is the present proposition. My hon. friend the Postmaster General, speaking of the land grant, said that it was expected that the Province of Ontario would give some 9,000,000 of acres. Without discussing the quality of the land, I would ask what guarantee have we that the Government and Legislature of the Province of Ontario will give that grant. If we are to judge of the opinions of the Government by what we have seen in another place, we shall find the Treasurer of that Province voting against the scheme, from first to last. We find the Minister of Agriculture, it is true, voting the other way, but still, we have no reason to suppose—especially when we consider the present state of public opinion in the Province, as shown by the recent elections, that the grant will be given. With all due deference to the Postmaster General, I do not see that we are not bound to undertake the construction of the railway—he says we are only bound to secure its construction. What is the meaning of that phrase? Suppose that you cannot, by means of your land grant and subsidy induce a company to undertake it, what will you do? You have bound yourselves to secure the building of the road. You must either as a Government make it or pay for its construction. I think we may as well leave the land grant out of the calculation altogether. Starting from a point near Ottawa to the upper end of

Lake Superior, we find the country is not fit for agricultural purposes. Not until we get into the Red River country—where it is said there are some 60,000,000 acres of fertile land—is the land at all suitable for cultivation. West of this to the Pacific the country is almost worthless for agricultural purposes,—there is a good deal of mineral wealth, some valuable fisheries, but no farming lands. In conversation to-day with my friend, the Hon. Malcolm Cameron, I was informed by that gentleman that his own observation and all the information he could gather during a visit to that country in 1862, had led him to come to the conclusion that only very small portions of British Columbia could be made available for agricultural purposes. In the small interstitial valleys, there was fertile lands, but the quantity was very inconsiderable, and even those valleys were liable to inundation by the June torrents. The uplands were poor and rocky. The prairie portions were covered by a grass well known to Western men as "bunch grass," unfit for pasture and indicating a poor, sterile soil. Mr. Cameron saw only two good farms in the whole country; they were on Vancouver's Island, and had been made good by large expenditure of money. On his return to Canada Mr. Cameron gave a fair statement of the country and its resources for which he was assailed in strong terms in a letter signed by some forty persons from Canada, who had emigrated to British Columbia. They declared that Mr. Cameron's statements were calculated to mislead Canadians, and were altogether too favourable to the country, which was unfit for agricultural purposes. The letter in question will be found in the *Toronto Globe* of the 18th February, 1863. It is signed by persons from various parts of Canada and many of them are well known to some of my hon. colleagues, as persons of respectability and industrious habits, who went there as pioneers of civilization. It is evident then that money and money alone must build this railway. My hon. friend the Postmaster General said that Canadian railways cost \$160,000,000, but these railways pass through the most populous and wealthy districts of Canada. In the case of the Canadian Pacific, it would pass through a wilderness, where it would cost a great deal to transport supplies and materials to the scene of operations. Then, after you have constructed the road, where will the traffic come from. The income of the Grand Trunk, the Great Western and the Northern Railways is estimated at a quarter of a million of dollars a week. The Grand Trunk gives no dividend, and the Great Western only 2½ p. c. at the most. How can you expect

in a country without people or traffic, even such results from railway operations. Reference has been made to the resolution introduced into the other branch by Hon. Sir Geo. E. Cartier; but in my opinion, it amounts virtually to nothing. If the Government are sincere in bringing it forward, why do they not embody it in their resolutions. When I asked the Postmaster General why he did not do so, he replied that he could not amend a treaty; it could only be changed by being sent back to British Columbia. If this is a treaty, a mutual compact, how can you undertake to place a construction other than that justified by the terms of the treaty. You admit that that part of the treaty is dubious. What right has one party to the treaty to interpret it, and govern himself accordingly? If the Government is sincere, why have they not introduced the resolution into the Senate. So far it has not been placed before the House (hear, hear). I feel that I have trespassed on the time of the Senate, but I cannot vote for these resolutions, friendly though I am to Confederation, and sincerely desirous of seeing it a success. I believe that it is for the welfare of the people of this Dominion and of free government that we should build up a large power on the northern part of this continent. Still, I cannot, in justice to the interests of the people of the Dominion, especially of the industrious inhabitants of Ontario, vote for a proposition like that introduced by the Government, a proposition, as I believe, fraught with so much mischief.

Hon. Mr. McCLELLAN—Inasmuch as this question is of very considerable importance to the people of the Dominion of Canada, and it may be to the Empire, I cannot give a silent vote. The hon. member who addressed you previous to the former speaker (Hon. Mr. McFarlane) whilst ignoring the financial features of this scheme, defended it on the ground that it was a part of the Confederation scheme. Now, I have been from the beginning an advocate of the Union in the Province to which I belong, but I do not think it is my duty to carry the idea of Confederation to the extent which the hon. gentleman seems disposed to carry it. I am prepared to confess that the ultimate union by railway of the Atlantic with the Pacific has been to my mind a grand idea, but the mode of accomplishing this union is another question which this Parliament should consider carefully. I do not think that we should overstep the bounds of prudence so as to pass a measure which may be fatal to the success of Confederation itself. My hon. friend has stated that it is not to be a Government railway, but that it will be built by a company with large

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or traffic, railway operated to the other carrier; but virtually to be sincere they not em- When I asked he did not do not amend a good by being a. If this how can you tion other terms of the part of the ight has one rpret it, and If the Gov- ave they not o the Senate. d before the at I have treate, but I can- tions, friendly n, and sincere- cess. I believe the people of vovernment that power on the ent. Still, I terests of the specially of the ntario, vote for oduced by the as I believe, lef.

asmuch as this erable import- e Dominion of the Empire, I The hon. mem- orevious to the r. McFarlane) cial features of on the ground Confederation n from the be- ne Union in the g, but I do not rry the idea of t which the hon. to carry it. I am e ultimate union with the Pacific nd idea, but the this union is this Parliament I do not thik e bounds of pr- ure which may Confederation it- ated that it is ailway, but that mpany with large

land grants, supplemented by a money subsidy. My hon. friend would not tell us where the company is to be found, the amount of land or the amount of money, or the particular terms on which this subsidy would be allowed. He also forgot to allude to another very important point. Who are to use the road when it is built? Not for centuries to come can the country through which it is to pass be settled for more than one half its distance. We cannot fairly instance the progress in the United States. During the last twenty-five years the average number of immigrants landing in New York has been about 200,000 a year. That immigration alone has given a great stimulus to the construction of American railways—it made laborers plentiful and afforded the population necessary to take up lands along the route to organize States and build up towns and cities. We have not, however, reached that status in the Dominion by which emigrants from the old country are attracted to us in preference to the American Union. If instead of introducing a measure like this, likely to impose such heavy burthens on the country, we had organized some simple machinery for the improvement of the interal communications of British America as promised, so soon as finances would admit, and giving the facilities for trade by means of steam intercourse, then I would gladly support the Government. All this could have been done with very little expense, and then, we could have directed our attention to other matters of public moment. As respects the question of representation, I may say that when I agreed to the British North America Act, I thought we had some sort of a constitution—that we had something to which we could always refer, and which would not be departed from for the most trivial considerations; but now I find that the Provinces of Manitoba and British Columbia, with an aggregate population of only 25,000, are given ten representatives in the House of Commons, whereas New Brunswick, with a population of 300,000, has only 15 members. Such a departure from the principles of the constitution, certainly does not seem to me just to the other Provinces. But it has been said unless we secure British Columbia now, she might be absorbed by the United States. We heard the same assertion during the agitation for the Confederation of Manitoba. I know very little about British Columbia, but I cannot believe there is any just cause for this aspersion of the loyalty of any portion of her people. I believe so long as the high tariff and the immense war debt exist in the United States, the cry for annexation will not find more followers in British Columbia than in other parts of the

Dominion. I believe, if this scheme be carried out, as we fear it will be, and as it clearly ought to be without any prevarication, if made a part of the treaty, it will impose such an enormous burthen upon the Dominion, that ten years hence our position will not be so favorable as it is now, and we will not be able to offer as many inducements as at present for maintaining British connection hitherto so highly prized; as the loyalty of the people will not be so strong when it becomes unprofitable. In conclusion, I will say that I am sorry that the gentlemen who represent New Brunswick in the Government, have so far forgotten their obligations to their Province, and to those to whom they are wholly indebted for their high position, as to have imposed upon it in common with other sections of the Dominion responsibilities which will be very hard to bear and which tend further to break up that constitution which received a sufficiently serious blow when additional concessions were made to Nova Scotia—a Province which has already received large sums, beyond the original agreement, and yet their grievances continue to be reiterated. Having been unable to occupy my seat, I have not had the pleasure of listening to the speeches of other hon. gentlemen on this great subject, but I have no hesitation in voting against the resolutions of the Government. It is very largely a subject of Imperial interest, and one which the people of this Dominion have not had time to maturely consider.

Hon. Mr. BOTSFORD—I was very reluctant to say anything on the present question, as it has been already so fully discussed, but I have been called to my feet by the observations made by the hon. gentleman who has just spoken, and who has generally very clear views on public matters. I differ entirely from the hon. gentleman who comes from the same Province that I do. Certainly this is a very important question, one on which every one interested in the welfare of his country ought to express his opinions. Now I object to the amendment because it is at variance with the opinions expressed even by those who opposed the resolution, that we should unite with British Columbia. It means an indefinite postponement of the question, although all of them desire to see the union accomplished and the great West opened up. It is admitted that this is a question which the Senate can deal with—which it can accept or reject. More than that, we have the power in the rejection of it to pass a resolution by which we may express what modification of the terms we can give to British Columbia, and in that way facilitate the adjustment of this question. Holding

the opinions he does, the hon. member for Grandville should have been prepared to pursue this mode of procedure. It has been objected that British Columbia has had a better opportunity of expressing her views on the subject than the Parliament of Canada. Be that as it may, we have now an opportunity of making our opinions known. Now I am unwilling to postpone the question indefinitely. Desirous as I am of carrying out the great scheme of Confederation, I am prepared to say that although there may be some modification of the terms of the resolutions desirable; yet, upon the whole, I must support them as they are. Much stress has been laid on the amount of the subsidy and the financial terms given to British Columbia, as well as on the amount of representation. If the arrangement respecting representation were intended to be permanent, it would perpetuate a principle antagonistic to the Act of Union, and I would see something in the objections of hon. gentlemen; but it is evident that before the next census is taken this irregularity will be remedied. There is nothing in the resolutions before the Senate which will prevent the inequality being rectified whenever a readjustment of the representation is made. It is also quite obvious that if the resources of British Columbia are as great as they are represented to be, an immense tide of population must soon flow into the country in connection with the railway and the revenues of the Dominion thereby very largely increased. As to the parallel drawn by the hon. member on the other side (Hon. Mr. Christie) between the colony and the territories of the United States, I do not think it is correct. These territories belong to the United States, and they can establish what sort of Government they choose, but British Columbia has a political existence apart from the Dominion, and we cannot exercise any control over it with respect to its government. No one denies that British Columbia possesses many valuable resources, that it has the finest coal mines on the Pacific coast—in itself a great element of wealth—that it has fisheries which must be a very lucrative source of commerce, that it has gold, to an extent of which even yet we cannot form an accurate idea; besides many other minerals. What then is the great stumbling block? We are told it is the construction of the Pacific Railway, and much stress has been laid on the paying qualities of the roads which are in operation in this country and the United States. However, when we consider the advantages conferred by railways which have not paid, I must say I think that argument is not sufficient to

prevent the construction of a road which will cement the Union together. What would Canada do without the Grand Trunk Railway which carries its products to the sea? But there is a very important point with respect to this railway which some have averted to, and that is, which is the most favourable route for a line between the Atlantic and the Pacific. That recalls to my mind a circumstance which occurred some years ago when I was paying a visit to Washington in connection with the Reciprocity Treaty. There I became acquainted with many distinguished Americans, and among them was a gentleman of very high position who had travelled over the greater part of the North West, and he told me that if ever a convention was made for a treaty to settle the difficulties between England and the United States, it would be important for the interests of both countries that there should be an article in the treaty providing for the construction of an International Railway between the Atlantic and the Pacific, and Great Britain, he added, has the territory through which that railway should run (hear, hear). If the height of land will be 2,000 feet less than that found in the United States, it is evident that the cost of our line must be less than that of the American lines. Again, it is objected that British Columbia has the best of this arrangement. Now, the only portion of this railway which will be a direct advantage to British Columbia, is that from the pass in the Rocky Mountains to Vancouver Island, and I appeal to gentlemen if the colony would not be entitled to the construction of a road on the same terms as the Intercolonial for which a guarantee has been given. When we came into the Union, it was with a certain proportion of debt, but this loan for the completion of the Intercolonial railway did not form a portion of it. British Columbia will now come in and pay her proportion of the loan, and who is benefited—the Lower Provinces; and, therefore, I say that this stipulation with respect to the railway, is not too favorable to the colony. I believe we are destined to be a great and powerful and happy people, and, therefore, I am ready to run some risk, but I believe the construction of the railway will actually promote the development of our resources and increase our wealth. As respects the construction of the road, I must say here that I trust the narrow gauge will be adopted, and in that event, the road will be built much more economically. What will be the population ten years hence—if we are as prosperous as I hope we will be? Not less than 7,000,000, and the revenue under the present tariff will not be less than \$25,000,000. Our present public debt

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has not been incurred in devastating wars, but has arisen from expenditures for useful public works. Some of these works do not pay much, but still they are invaluable to the country. Do we not see the men of the Western States saying that they must save the use of the St. Lawrence as the natural outlet for their enormous traffic? Will not these public works become more remunerative according as we improve them and make them equal to the requirements of trade. One reason why I have little faith in the apprehensions which have been expressed by some Senators in this House is this: I heard the same predictions when the Union of the Provinces took place. I heard men of education and intelligence, say most positively that the country would be depopulated—that ruin and bankruptcy would ensue; and now with the experience of the past three years, we see the fallacy of these forebodings. I have been an advocate of the Union of the Provinces, ever since the time of Lord Durham. I believe this Union must give us more influence in the Councils of other countries. We have an independent, enlightened and vigorous people to develop our resources, we have institutions of the most liberal character, and a country rich in all the elements of wealth, and with all these advantages, it will be our own fault if we fail in attaining a great future. Therefore, I am not afraid to spend one hundred millions of money, if it were necessary, to open up the great North West in which I have the most unbounded confidence. The Government, who failed to grapple with this question, would have fallen before public opinion, and other men would have taken their places and adopted the same vigorous policy for carrying out this great scheme. It has been said that England wishes to get rid of her colonies. I do not believe it, but this road will certainly benefit her and give her a greater interest than ever in this country. More than that, I believe she will express her willingness to aid in the construction of this great work; but if the British Government are not ready to give us money or a guarantee, is it not probable or possible that they will adopt a policy which will increase our wealth and at the same time relieve the people of England of a burthen which is now weighing heavily upon them. Every one is aware of the immense amount required to support the poor of England. Thousands are able and willing to work, but they find it impossible to get employment in consequence of the surplus of labour. Would it not then be a wise measure for the Parliament of England to assist a large bulk of these people in finding their way to the North West. With these remarks,

and apologizing for having trespassed so long on the patience of the House, I must conclude by expressing my opinion that the resolutions are deserving of the support of all the friends of Union.

Hon. Mr. BENSON—I have been always in favour of Confederation, and have endeavoured to forward it to the best of my ability. Since I have been a member of the Legislature I have given every vote to promote the Union, and I see no reason now why I should refuse to support this measure, for I do not view it as some gentlemen do, as beyond our resources, as likely to impose a burden of \$100,000,000 on the country. I believe that the measure will be carried out faithfully, in accordance with the promise of the Government, and therefore I cannot support the amendment. I cannot believe that any Government, now or hereafter, would introduce a measure which would embarrass this country to the extent some gentlemen predict. I believe this measure will be for the advantage of the whole Dominion. Everybody has admitted that British Columbia should come into the Union—that was one of the conditions of the original Confederation scheme, and giving her communication with the rest in the Dominion. I consider it is the duty of the Government to construct the railway as soon as we can do so within our resources. I think that the road will be commenced within two years and completed at the time contemplated, and by means of the land grant and the money subsidy. Under these circumstances it gives me much pleasure to vote for the resolutions introduced by the Government. I believe they will have the effect of strengthening the Dominion and giving an additional stimulus to its great resources (hear).

Hon. Mr. ODELL—Knowing the sane guine temperament of my hon. friend opposite (Hon. Mr. Botsford), I am not surprised to hear the opinions he has expressed. In justice to him I must acknowledge that he has always enunciated these views, but I scarcely expected him to go as far as he has done to-day. He tells us that even \$100,000,000 or more, would not deter him from voting for this measure. He tells us also that it is the duty of the Government to deal with this question. I quite agree with him, but I think it was also the duty of the Government to deal with it in such a way as to be acceptable to the country and not to cripple our resources. He undertakes to inform us what the Government propose to do, and what sort of railway they will build, but he forgot to tell us what the Government are going to do hereafter when this heavy burden is imposed on the country. Now, I have been

absent from the country for the past six months, and have not had an opportunity of enquiring into the state of public opinion, but all I can gather respecting the views of the people of New Brunswick, leads me to believe there is a very strong feeling of opposition to the measure. Although I admit that we are here to legislate for the Dominion at large, and that we are not actually representatives of the people, at the same time I hold we are bound in some measure to consider the wishes of the different sections for which we have been selected. I confess that I was astounded when this scheme was put into my hands on my arrival here, and I felt at the outset that this government in their hot haste to form the connection had been over-reached by the delegates and legislature of British Columbia. I am not surprised that British Columbia should insist on obtaining the best terms she could acquire, and I believe she was influenced, to a large extent, by the previous legislation of this Dominion, in respect to other provinces. I have no doubt, that the terms which were offered to Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland, and the additional concessions made in the case of Nova Scotia, have led the people of British Columbia to suppose that they could exact any terms they wished from the Government of the Dominion. I object also to the mode in which this matter has been submitted—I am strongly of opinion that in the case of an important measure like this, we should be consulted with respect to the details. I have listened attentively to see why it is we cannot exercise what is our right and privilege, and am told that this is a treaty which we must accept or reject as a whole; and yet we find that the little colony of British Columbia has had the right to express its opinion upon the details through the Legislature and through the people. I have heard no objections to the admission of British Columbia upon any fair terms, and no objections to a reasonable subsidy for a railway, and therefore there is no excuse for the course pursued, which is humiliating to this House. I find that every one who has referred to this question has spoken of it as part of the Confederation, and it would seem that our present votes are to be guided by our past action with regard to that scheme. Now, as respects myself, let me say at once, that when the people of New Brunswick changed their minds upon the question and decided in its favour, I with drew my opposition to it, as I proved by the fact of my acceptance of a seat in this House. On no occasion have I endeavored to throw any obstacles in the way of the completion of the work. I am glad when

the scheme works well, but at the same time I am quite aware that there are some differences of opinion with respect to its operation. I hope that such feelings will soon disappear, if even-handed justice is meted out. But if we undertake all these extravagant expenditures, we may depend upon it that there will be a reaction against Confederation. I have heard a great many glowing descriptions and fancy sketches with respect to this Union and railway scheme—Great Empire—Interoceanic road—Eastern trade—a picture all sunshine, verdure and beauty. But let us reverse the picture and paint the same landscape when the storm clouds sweep across the heavens, and the hurricane devastates the land, lashing the sea into fury until it rises in its majesty and engulphs everything on its surface—I do not desire to paint such a picture. I believe the truth lies somewhere between the two extremes. With prudence and economy we may go on prosperously, and probably be able to meet all our present liabilities in the course of time; but it may be different if we burthen ourselves in the way proposed for the sake of admitting an insignificant and distant colony into the Confederation. If the golden accounts that have been given of British Columbia be true—if it has all the rich resources and the magnificent climate so often referred to since this debate commenced—how is it that it has not attracted immigration, and that its capabilities have never yet been developed? Why have not lumbering operations been profitably carried on there, as here and in New Brunswick, without subsidies, and long before the introduction of railways? Why have not these valuable Fisheries we hear of been long ago prosecuted as in Nova Scotia? We are told, on the other hand, that we must give these large subsidies to British Columbia to meet her necessities or she will annex herself to the United States. This she dare not do without the consent of the Mother Country, and I will not do her people the injustice to believe they desire it. But if the country is as rich as it is represented to be it ought to be better able to maintain itself. I might follow the example of others and present calculations with respect to the building of a railway—seldom, indeed, in this House has such an array of figures been presented—but after all what are they based upon? There is no man within these walls or outside that can undertake to say what the cost of this railway will be until we have an accurate and scientific survey. I do not believe any persons can be found capable of expressing an accurate opinion of the whole country through which it is to pass. Some may know portions of it and that is all. Still

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here we find the Minister of Marine and Fisheries actually dividing it into sections, and estimating the cost of each. He might as well attempt to tell you how many fins the fish in the Pacific possess. The figures are valueless. No one can tell what amount this railway will eventually entail upon us, whether one hundred or two hundred million dollars, and is this a sum to be trifled with.

I had recently the pleasure of meeting a gentleman from British Columbia, and the information he gave me with respect to the country appeared to me reliable. He could not help expressing the astonishment which the people of the Colony felt at the terms which had been agreed to by the Government of the Dominion. He made this remark afterwards, where is the money to come from? I replied I was under the impression that we would find it very difficult to raise funds for the construction of the road, except at a ruinous rate of interest. The state of Europe was such that no one would be inclined to invest, England would have enough to do to hold her own, and manage her affairs without getting involved in such speculations. He told me there was a great deal of valuable pine timber in the country, but it would be found very difficult to get it to market as they had no snow roads, that the large trees very often broke in falling and that being resinous pine the stumps did not rot for ages and that there were no means of reducing them—some were so large that they had actually built a billiard room on one—so that clearing the land was very expensive. They had gold but were obliged to mine so deeply for it, it was not profitable. Copper in abundance—but that was abundant everywhere. With all the information before me I do not think we can derive much revenue from the resources of British Columbia. If we are to pay the expenses of their Government and everything connected with it—if we are to build this railway, why too are we called upon to pay \$100,000 for the right of way through the country which they ought to give freely. The mode of submitting the measures—the fictitious Population, the disproportionate representations, five per cent on the difference of indebtedness per head calculated on 60,000 instead of 10,000 in section 2, and the 100,000 for Railway lands are all objections, but minor objections, which might be got over. Now I have come to the Railway, the real *stumbling block* in this matter so called by the supporters of the scheme. Even the eloquent member from Nova Scotia [Mr. Miller], was brought to a stand still for a moment, but he succeeded at last in getting over it in a very peculiar manner. When repeating old Confederation speeches

he spoke of the Intercolonial Railway and the Halifax Terminus, though once I believe an anti, he was very fluent, but when he came to the *stumbling block* he looked first on this side, then on that, finally he struck his spurs in Pegasus, but Pegasus with the aid of his wings could not get over. Then recollecting the French Balloons he inhaled a little more gas up, up he went off into the clouds, over the Rocky Mountains, to the shores of the Pacific; but by and by the gas escaped, down came the balloon and nobody was hurt, (Laughter).

But there stands the *stumbling block*.

The Hon. member from Cumberland (Mr. Dickey) was also brought up at this same *stumbling block*, but he got over it in a very different way. He said he meant to be candid, but he was far too candid—his views about the scheme were such that I could not for the moment conceive how it would be possible for him to vote for it. But he managed to get over the difficulty at last in a sort of logical way—he said the railway would bring money to the terminus—Halifax would be the terminus; and therefore he must support it in the interest of Nova Scotia. I find, however, I cannot get over this *stumbling block* in any way whatever. In my opinion no language can be stronger than that used in the 11th section with respect to the railway. The Government undertake to secure its commencement in two years and complete it in ten. We have been told that there is another resolution somewhere; but we know nothing about it, and even supposing it were passed it could not affect this solemn treaty. This resolution may bind the hon. gentleman to vote for it, but only so long as they choose. British Columbia might say that she does not put the same construction on the treaty and refuse to come into the Union. Under all the circumstances, therefore, it is advisable to give further consideration to this matter and not bind ourselves to build this railway and incur all these expenditures so recklessly. I do not consider this a Government measure, nor do I view it in any party light. I believe we are legislating with regard to posterity. After the general election another Government might come in, and in such an event I would vote in the same way if a similar question were brought up. Ever since I have been in this Senate I have been struck by the great ability, good sense and urbanity, with which the hon. Postmaster-General has always conducted the business in the House, and feeling this, I have always a great desire to support him; but on the present occasion I cannot do so, although he has assured us that it is not the intention of the Government to go

into any such extravagant expenditures but that they intend to be bound by the resolution which has been introduced in another place. If that hon. gentleman had the sole direction of this matter, I would accept his assurances, but changes may and must in the natural course of events occur and we do not know who will be called upon to deal with this question in the course of the next ten years. Therefore I cannot now strain at a gnat and swallow a Campbell.

Hon. Mr. OLIVIER said that he had been waiting until that late hour to see whether an answer would be given by members of the Government or other gentlemen who supported the resolutions, to the point that had been raised by the hon. member for the Wellington Division, as to the constitutionality of the proceedings with respect to the admission of British Columbia. It had been said that the Queen had no power to issue an Order in Council appointing three new members to the House. No answer, however, had yet been given by the Government and he was not aware of any legal gentleman who had attempted to stand up and controvert the position assumed by the hon. member. He thought the hon. member for Nova Scotia (Mr. Dickey) referred to the question but only in a very cursory manner, and he concluded by saying at last that he left the whole responsibility in this matter in the hands of the Government. Now, when we considered the mistake we made last year in connection with the Manitoba Bill, we should act more cautiously and prevent a similar mistake. In this connection Mr. Oliver went on to refer to the 146, 147, 22 and following clauses of the British North America Act to prove the accuracy of his argument and urged that there was no power given to appoint Senators; that the provision in the 60th clause referred to the additional appointment of three or six members, at any time, to be taken equally from the three sections named in the Act, in fact the whole language and spirit of the Act showed the intention to have the three divisions of country equally represented in the Senate. Now, by the proposed scheme, he argued, the proposed equality was to be disturbed contrary to the language of this Act.

The hon. gentleman then went on to refer to some of the details of the resolutions, and in the course of his remarks asked whether the Judges of the Superior Courts were to be also Judges of the County Courts.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL could not say what the judicial system of the colony was at present.

Hon. Mr. OLIVIER supposed that there

was no intention to include the Stipendiary Magistrates in the list of Judiciary; and, in that case, if they were not employed under the name of County Judges or Magistrates, we must provide pensions for them. At the time of Confederation he had put a question to the hon. leader of the Government with respect to the debt of the Canadas, and got for an answer:

Hon Sir E. P. Tache: All the details are not included in the resolutions; but as to the balance of \$5,000,000 which will have to be divided between Upper and Lower Canada, and which constitutes the difference between the \$62,000,000 of debt which will be assumed by the Confederation and the \$67,000,000 which Canada owes, a division will be made before Parliament is dissolved.

The amount was now nearly three times that stated in the foregoing paragraph; and, therefore, he was very suspicious of any explanations given him now by the Government. He had no doubt the Postmaster-General was serious when he tried to make the House understand that by the 11th clause of the present resolutions we were not binding ourselves to build the road; but it was very questionable whether that honourable gentleman, now that the excitement of debate had passed away, would be ready to express the same opinion quite so emphatically. It was said that by means of a resolution presented to the other House we were to explain the meaning of the resolutions, but he could not understand how one of the contracting parties could give an interpretation to a treaty. He supposed a case of three gentlemen whom he would call respectively, John Minister, Frank Canada and Sharp Columbia. John was the agent and had bound Frank Canada to build a house for \$20,000 for Sharp Columbia. Frank Canada then said to John Minister, "How is it you bound me to build a house for \$20,000 when I have not the means of paying for it?" Suppose the agent should then go to his chief and say, "I made the arrangement not with the intention of binding you but we will make a counter deed and, and, although you are bound in the Treaty itself to do it, stipulate that the reverse is the fact." None would presume that the Agent acted honorably, or that the principal had the right to countenance his action. Was it come to such a point in this country that we were prepared to forfeit our pledges? He for one considered the resolutions bound the country by the most solemn pledge and could not see how the Government could do otherwise than follow their literal construction.

Hon. Mr. SIMPSON (who was only im

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perfectly heard) said that, like other gentlemen who had preceded him, he was unwilling to give a silent vote on a question of such magnitude. He could not see how the Government could evade the obligations which devolved upon them under the resolution. He was positive that the road could not be built under the terms proposed, and that the Government would have to assume an enormous burthen—probably \$150,000,000—if it wished to keep faith with the people of British Columbia. He did not see where the Government itself could sell the bonds necessary to construct the undertaking. He had himself little belief that the new territory was ever going to add to the wealth of the Dominion. He had known persons who had laboured industriously to make a living in the country, and had failed at the last. The fact that the population was now actually less than it was some years ago was a proof of the poverty of the country.

Hon. Mr. FERRIER said that he had just given a letter of recommendation to a gentleman in Montreal, an intelligent business man, who would leave the next day for British Columbia, on account of inducements held out by some relatives, who had been living for many years in the country.

Hon. Mr. SIMPSON went on to refer to the duties now levied in the colony, even onions, and other vegetables were taxed, and ridiculed the idea of a union with such a wretched colony. He considered the whole scheme as most absurd, and expressed his surprise that any Government, anxious to promote the welfare of this country, should have agreed to accept the terms. He did not see there was any particular reason for dealing with so important a question in such hot haste, and was forced under the circumstances to vote for the amendment.

Hon. Mr. FLINT dissented from the views expressed by the last speaker, and denied that he truly represented the state of public sentiment on the question. It was absurd for any one to calculate the cost which the country would have to assume in connection with the railway—he was quite assured that no Government would dare to burthen the Dominion to any serious extent. He went on to refer to the present prosperous condition of Canada, and its ability to meet all such expenditures as would probably be incurred in assisting the construction of a work which would of itself develop our resources to an incalculable degree, by opening up a large and valuable country and new sources of wealth on all sides. He was surprised to hear the hon. member depreciate the

lands, especially as he could have little or no practical knowledge of the country of which he professed to speak. It was quite probable that some persons had failed to be successful in British Columbia, but that was the case everywhere. Men would always be found wanting in those qualities of energy and perseverance which are essential to success in life.

Hon. Mr. SKEAD interrupted the hon. member to mention that a young man was present, who had just come from British Columbia and intended to return there immediately with others who would be willing to accompany him.

Hon. Mr. FLINT went on to say that when Confederation had been carried he felt bound to accept the situation and endeavour, as far as he possibly could, to make it work satisfactorily. He had not been satisfied with the course which had been taken in bringing about Confederation—he did not like the coalition of political parties for that purpose. Nevertheless, the scheme had been worked out so far by a coalition Government, and until it is fully completed, he hoped that they would remain in office. He was not, however, pledged to support all their measures, but he felt it his duty on the present occasion to vote in behalf of the resolutions. He was anxious to make the Union a success and perpetuate the connection with England. He believed that the people of Ontario were as loyal as those of any other portion of Her Majesty's Dominions. Some persons might be found ready to join the American Union, but he was certain that if the voices of the immense majority were heard, they would declare for the continuance of British connection [hear, hear].

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST.—I regret exceedingly being obliged to impose another speech upon the House. When I made my motion in amendment the other day I took occasion to speak in French, but I think now after the views that have been expressed on the subject since this debate opened I am entitled to some favor from the House, and hon. gentlemen will permit me to answer some of the arguments that have been advanced why the resolutions proposed by the Government should pass. When the Postmaster General introduced the question he said that he did not consider there was any difference of opinion between those who assisted in framing, and those who opposed the Confederation of British America, as to the advisability of allowing British Columbia admission into the Union. In reply I must say that any remarks which I may make must not be taken as unfriendly to Confederation, but as exhibit-

biting a desire to make the measure more acceptable and more in consonance with the interests of this country. I am ready to admit that as colonies of Great Britain, or with a view to our future national independence or even with the possibility of our annexation to the Great American Republic, the consolidation of all the colonies of British North America must take place and is desirable, provided it is secured by means adequate to our circumstances, and that such a consolidation is effected with prudence and due regard to our actual liabilities and to our financial abilities. I said the first time I spoke on the question that we are deranging the basis on which the representation of the country is established. We have had quite difficulties enough previous to Confederation to warn us now of the danger of constitutional innovations. We have had great difficulties on this very score—we opposed the principle as destructive of the Act of Union into which we had entered against our will with Upper Canada. But the very men who opposed representation by population were the first to jump up and say that they would assist in passing Confederation on that basis. From that moment they have admitted that principle—it is a part of our Constitution. But what are they doing now? They are giving the West a larger influence as compared with Lower Canada, at direct variance with the very Act of Union. Then the Postmaster General went on to refer to the second part of the question—the money arrangement. Although I am not prepared to admit that the terms are fair to the other Provinces, nevertheless we consider them less objectionable than the other part of the scheme. We have said little comparatively about them, for we might have been considered as giving a factious opposition to the resolutions. As respects the question of the railway it has been said by the Government that this scheme is not entirely in the nature of a treaty, and that we may by certain legislation dispose of the absolute clause in the resolutions. Now that clause says that the Government pledges itself to commence the road within two years' time and complete it within ten years, so as to connect with the network of railways in Canada. We have been told that this railway will be at least 2,500 miles in length. We say, before we enter into such a colossal undertaking, we wish to see your estimates; but in reply we are told, "You may make them yourselves." When a scheme of such magnitude is placed before the country the Government are bound to place before this House and country some estimate of the cost. When we enquire what are the difficulties we have to encounter we are told that they are

not greater than those the Americans have had to meet in connection with railways to the Pacific. When we ask the number of bridges, or the quantity of iron that will be required, we have not a word from the Government in reply. In the case of an individual, when he commences any large enterprise, he makes an estimate of the expense to see if he has the means of carrying it out; but here we are to take a leap in the dark. But we are met by the general observation that a large country like this which has been progressing so rapidly may go into the present enterprise without incurring any danger. No one can say that this doctrine is sound—on the contrary it is fraught with danger. If you build the road according to the estimates which have been given of similar works in the United States it will cost over \$100,000,000. Taking the figures which have been given by the members of the Government we find that the sum of \$25,000,000 would represent the bonus to be given by the Dominion, and taking the highest price estimated for the land grant we have another sum of 32 or 35 millions, making \$57,000,000 altogether, to build a road which cost so much more in the United States. Under these circumstances I ask ought the Government to embark in what would be certainly a most hazardous undertaking. I have been told that the road will not cost us anything—that it will be built by Companies paid in lands. Suppose we do not find a Company willing to undertake the work. The hon. member from Montreal (Mr. Ferrier) said that a Company would offer before next session; but if it is so easy to procure one now, why not secure one beforehand and give the House the information which is now wanting. If we cannot procure one now are we likely to do so when it is clear that the road will not cost less than \$150,000,000, the most accurate estimate probably.

Hon. Mr. FERRIER—I spoke of what I hoped to see realized—that we shall have three or four companies before next year asking to construct this work.

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST—Notwithstanding my high respect for the hon. member I cannot believe that we can expect any such result with \$32,000,000 of land and \$25,000,000 of money.

Hon. Mr. FERRIER—The land on the Northern Pacific is now selling at \$7 or \$8 an acre.

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST—I know that lands in this country have never brought such a price. More than that, in Ontario where the lands are of superior character a large quantity remain unpaid in the hands of the Government. It is the same in the Province of Quebec.

And these lands were granted at from 1s. 6d. to 5s. an acre.

Hon. Mr. FERRIER—The prairie lands are far superior to those of which you are speaking.

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST—I am ready to admit the value of the prairie lands, but as far as the country between Lake of the Woods and Upper Canada is concerned, there may be spots of good soil, but the rest is barren, whatever the Minister of Marine may say to the contrary.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—I gave you the best authority on the subject.

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST—I am not saying all the land is bad, but two thirds, at least, is arid, barren, cut up by lakes and rivers. As soon as we have crossed the swamps of the Lake of the Woods we come to the prairie lands and they extend as far as the south branch of the river Saskatchewan. I admit these lands are splendid, but I do say that from that branch you do not find such lands until you come a little north near Fort a la Corne. I know it is impossible to grow wheat or even barley on these prairie lands—they succeed with vegetables—I know this to be a fact from relatives of mine who are living there. Or take the reports we have of this country—that of Hind, for instance,—he gives no good account of the greater portion of this country. Under these circumstances I think we should pause before incurring an expenditure of \$150,000,000 and learn something about the country through which the road is to pass. Why are we imposing such a burden at this moment? We are told that it is necessary that we should unite with British Columbia, and this I admit; but is a railway necessary to keep up the connection? We have been connected for a long time with Great Britain without any such bond of union. My hon. friend near me (Hon. Mr. Macpherson) said that if this scheme is to be carried on by the opening of a road from the east he hardly thought it was within the means of the country to accomplish it; but he added that the most feasible mode was to get into the Manitoba country by forming a conjunction with the American roads.

Hon. Mr. MACPHERSON—I said that the only feasible way with our present means and information was to get the requisite facilities by using the American railways and commencing our own at Pembina.

Hon. Mr. SANBORN—Perhaps the Postmaster General would give us some information on this point, and tell us whether the Government adopt the views of the hon. member from Toronto?

Hon. Mr. MACPHERSON—I have nothing to do with the Government in the matter. I know that the great obstacle is the country between Lake Nipissing and Fort Garry, and I wish to avoid any large expenditure at present.

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST—The Premier of the Government stated elsewhere that the road was to be built from some place near Lake Nipissing as far as the Rocky Mountains; but I think the Postmaster General should be more explicit on this subject.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL—The Government are not pledged to any particular point—that is a question not yet determined—certainly we do not propose to construct a railway in the United States.—(Laughter.)

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST—What I do complain of is the manner in which the Government gives information to the House. Whenever they are asked for information on any particular point they are most vague and evasive in their replies. I take it for granted that for the sake of contradicting the liberal views of the hon. member for Toronto, the Postmaster General is ready to allow this matter to stand in this dubious state; but it is not the same with the hon. Receiver General (Mr. Chapais) who told us, with grave solemnity, that he would never consent to see our communications with British Columbia carried on even partially over American railways; that it would be contrary to the policy of the Government, and moreover, a link of railway from Fort Garry to Pembina to combine with the American Pacific Railroad would be a dangerous policy. But the most extraordinary statement on his part was that if such a communication was opened, the Americans would pour into our territory of Manitoba, that they would settle on the lands of the Province, and later that they would annex Manitoba to the Great Republic as they did in the case of Texas. Well now, hon. gentlemen, these contradictions from the Hon. Postmaster General, and the ridiculous narrow views of the Hon. Receiver General on the advantages of such an immigration, need no better answer than their absurdity. The cost of this Pacific Railway is a matter upon which the Government admit they are unable to give us any information; and in the position in which this Parliament is most unjustifiably placed in being asked to act blindfold, no other mode of ascertaining the magnitude of its cost and of its difficulties is left to us, than to examine certain reports made by engineers, or by comparison either with our Intercolonial or with the American Pacific Railroad. Before going briefly into

this examination, I think, by enlarging the views entertained by the hon. member for Toronto, that British Columbia as well as Manitoba could comparatively be placed in communication with the Dominion at a very insignificant outlay; first, by the opening of a link between Fort Garry and Pembina where the American Pacific Railway will have an extension in a very short time from this, and, secondly, by building a link on the shores of the Pacific from British Columbia to the Northern Pacific Railway, which the Americans are now building; affording to our two sister colonies the advantages of mutual communication, and of partaking of all the advantages of the great railway networks of the United States and of Canada. Then, hon. gentleman, Manitoba and British Columbia, having these facilities, could we not, without prejudice to their interest and with advantage to this Dominion, await the future, when after due examination, we could afford to open more direct communications through British territory. Taking this more practical view of the case we would not impose upon this dominion, a burthen that might be ruinous and affect our credit in the money market by the execution of works presenting so many difficulties in point of execution as well as in a financial point of view. Now, I take the report of Mr. Fleming on this very railway, and I find that it cannot be safely constructed with our present means; that it must be attended with great difficulties which we cannot well overcome. I will quote a few extracts from this report; and I must say at the outset that, if there is a document from which the Government ought to have obtained information it is this: "Measuring on the map along the general route of the proposed line from the mouth of Fraser's River to one of the best passages yet discovered in the Rocky Mountains along the general direction of the 'Fertile Belt,' keeping South of the North Saskatchewan, crossing the Red River near the settlement, bridging the Winnipeg River at the North end of the Lake of the Woods, striking through the country to the most northerly bend of the shore of Lake Superior, thence in a direct line to a crossing on the French River, west of Lake Nipissing, and from this point connecting with the existing railway system of Canada, either at the town of Barrie, or at Peterboro, or at the city of Ottawa.

"That a just conception may be formed of the real magnitude of the project under discussion, and the means necessary to its attainment, attention may for a moment be drawn to a few leading details.

"The construction of 2,000 miles of railway measured by the average standard of similar works existing in this Country implies the performance of labourer's work

sufficient to give employment to 10,000 men for five or six years, it involves the delivery of 5,000,000 cross ties or sleepers, and over 200,000 tons of iron rails for the "permanent way;" it comprises the erection of 60,000 poles hung with 1,000 tons of wire of the telegraph; it necessitates the creation of motive power equivalent to over 50,000 horses, which power would be concentrated in 400 locomotives; it involves the production of from 5,000 to 6000 cars of all kinds, which coupled with the locomotives, would make a single train over 30 miles in length; and lastly, it implies a gross expenditure on construction and equipment of not less than \$:00,000,000.

"It will likewise serve as a salutary check on hasty conclusions, to weigh before hand the cost of operating a truly gigantic establishment of the kind after its perfect completion; a few figures derived from actual results will show that the first construction of railway through the interior of British North America is even a less formidable undertaking than that of keeping it afterwards open in the present condition of the Country. For operating the line successfully, the fuel alone required in each year, and estimated as wood, would considerably exceed 200,000 cords; for keeping the roads in repair, a regiment of 2,000 trackmen would constantly be employed in small gangs through out its entire length; for the same purpose, there would, on an average, be annually required 600,000 new cross ties, as well as nearly 30,000 tons of new or re-rolled iron rails—the annual repairs of rolling stock would not cost less than one million dollars—over 5,000 employees of all kinds would constantly be under pay, and as these men would usually represent each a family, there would not be far short of 20,000 souls subsisting by the operation of the road. The aggregate amount of ways in each year after the road was in operation would swell out to nearly \$2,000,000, while the gross expenditure for operating and maintaining works would annually exceed \$3,000,000.

"Again, if to this last sum be added the interest on first cost, it becomes evident that until the gross earnings of the railway in each year come up to the enormous sum of \$14,000,000, it could not pay interest on the capital invested."

It has been stated very incorrectly by hon. the Receiver General that the American Pacific Railroad was built with grants of lands only. Well, I may state, for his information, that this is not the case, for, according to the facts as stated in the American Annual Cyclopaedia (1869) he will see that the Pacific Railroad was completed on the 10th of May, 1867, by the

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junction of the Central Pacific and the Union Pacific Railroads; that this rapid progress was largely due to the aid rendered by the General Government, that the Union Pacific Railroad was largely patronized by a Government possessing the means of doing so, by larger grants of land than those proposed for our railway, and by a direct assistance in bonds of that Government maturing in 30 years bearing six per cent interest payable in gold; that subsequently the company obtained the right to issue its first mortgage to an amount equal to the bonds of the Government, which were made a second lien on the road, making an aggregate of \$53,685,000 to start with—and moreover that a short time ago the contractors were dispensed of paying the interest on the Government Bonds for a period of thirty years.

And now that this important route is accomplished, we may find there some data that might give us an approximative idea of the liabilities we shall incur if this scheme is adopted.

The average cost of building the Pacific was at the rate of \$68,058 per mile for 914 miles west from Omaha, and \$90,000 per mile for 186 miles. Let us take the lowest of the two figures per mile for over 2,700 miles, and the result will be for the cost of construction \$187,756,600.

If we consider the cost of the Intercolonial, which may be safely put at \$25,000,000, though under far more favorable conditions for its construction, we find that the cost per mile cannot be less than \$50,000, which is equal to Mr. Fleming's estimate of the Canadian Route, upon which he has pronounced the following judgment:

"The idea of constructing upwards of 2,000 miles of railway in the manner which has characterized the establishment of similar undertakings heretofore, through a country almost uninhabited except by scattered bands of wandering Indians, may well be viewed as a commercial absurdity. It has been shown that the maintaining and operating of a railway of this extent, after its perfect completion, would cost not less than eight millions dollars per annum, and that its traffic would have to yield in gross receipts fourteen millions of dollars every year to enable the work to pay interest on the capital invested.

"Could it be satisfactorily shown that these receipts might even be approached, the work would undoubtedly be a legitimate investment for private capital, and we might fairly expect to see it undertaken by private enterprise; but at present no such inducement can be held out; however important the line would be in

many respects the business of the country traversed could not for many years yield more than a fractional part of the revenue required to keep it open, and the traffic from ocean to ocean could not be expected even by the most sanguine to give constant and profitable employment to a force of four hundred locomotives without which the road would scarcely pay...."

It is all very well for the promoters of this scheme to come forward and say that you need not be afraid if companies will not work this railway. The hon. member from Montreal (Mr. Ferrier) would be in a quandary, if, when the road is finished, we were to grant him all the plant and rolling stock on the condition that he would keep the road in running order.

Hon. Mr. FERRIER—Ten years hence matters will be even better than they are now.

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST—We cannot forecast the future. I will not trouble the House with any more extracts from Mr. Fleming's Report, but I will ask hon. gentlemen to consider calmly and seriously whether what I have laid before you—the result of the reflection and experience of the Chief Government Engineer—is such as to induce you to give your adhesion to this rash scheme of railway construction. There is a man who has been employed for years by the government, who has himself constructed rail ways, and he tells us that we are going into an undertaking of 2000 miles which it will cost \$14,000,000 to maintain. We were told that the Grand Trunk Railway had been a great benefit to the country; but that road has not been built by this country but by the earnings of the people of England who have assisted in opening up Canada when she had not the means herself of doing it; but who have never received a dollar in return. The shareholders have given some fifteen or sixteen millions of dollars to develop our resources, but they have received no benefit or thanks from us. The present road would be an enormous burthen on us during its construction, and would be ever applying to us for additional assistance to keep it running. Why, it would require some 400 locomotives alone—enough to carry off the whole population of British Columbia. The expense of construction must be greatly increased compared with the Intercolonial Railway, which runs through a country where there are high roads, water communications—the means of carrying materials and provisions along the route; but none of these facilities exist in the case of the Pacific Railway. The total cost of the Intercolonial is put down

at \$20,000,000, or perhaps \$25,000,000 rather, and yet is only one-sixth of the distance. If you multiply the \$25,000,000 by six you have \$150,000,000 as the probable cost of the Pacific. I very much fear—I regret to say it—that our political status will be lowered by the course which the Government are pursuing in this matter. We bind ourselves to construct a railway to the Pacific—the pledge is clear and unequivocal; but we are told that there is a resolution which, instead of adopting the language of the treaty, undertakes to state the mode in which the road shall be built. We are, therefore in our legislation placing on record a decision which is contrary to the letter of a treaty which the Government of Canada has entered into with the Government of British Columbia. Is that a dignified attitude for this Parliament to take? No, we are lowering ourselves in the eyes of the world—acting in a manner derogatory to our honor. In the case of San Domingo the American Senate would not accept a treaty made by the Washington Government, and the consequence was that a Commission has been sent to the Island to enquire into its condition and the advisability of annexation. Let us act fairly and honorably with the people of British Columbia, let us tell them we must amend these terms, we are willing to admit them into the union on equitable conditions but not otherwise. I think it is our duty as legislators to shew by our debates that we are willing to admit the colony on terms fair to both parties, and refuse to lead ourselves to the promulgation of a mere delusion. I am sure that the result of this debate will have its influence upon public opinion, whatever may be the fate of these resolutions. We certainly do not expect to see the Government defeated on this question—it would indeed be no defeat so far as this House is concerned. I regret to say that some members have adopted the view that if these resolutions are not carried, it would be a vote of want of confidence; but it is a mistake to suppose any such thing. Before this, I have seen the measures of the Government defeated in the Senate, but still, they have continued in office. One of the reasons given why we can safely deal with this question is the satisfactory condition of our finances. I am glad this is the case; but is that an excuse for now acting recklessly and extravagantly. Many great public improvements, promised at the inception of the Union, require to be carried out, and the longer they are delayed—the greater the injustice to the Provinces now forming the Union. For instance, here is my hon. friend from Nova Scotia who is such an

earnest advocate for the construction of the Bay Verte Canal; but can he expect to see that important work undertaken by the Government, if the country launches into the expenditure necessary for the construction of the Pacific Railway. Then there is the improvement of our canal system generally—the deepening of the Welland and the St. Lawrence Canals, the improvement of the river navigation. All these are questions of the deepest moment to the commercial interest of the whole Dominion, and it would be very unfortunate were they neglected. Then there is another question which is of deep interest to us in Lower Canada—the question of the Arbitration—which, according to the unjust award recently made, will place against Quebec a liability of about \$5,000,000. This liability must be adjusted in some way or other, though it is quite certain Quebec will not willingly agree to the exaction. This debt ought to be assumed by the Federal Government with compensation to the Maritime Provinces, but our financial position will be so much affected by that scheme that our federal exchequer will feel unable to meet this case. When we consider the questions of Canals and Arbitration, you cannot expect that the country will be able to incur a liability of \$150,000,000 in connection with the Pacific Railway. If we do incur it, then ruin and misery stare us in the face. Hon. gentlemen may indulge in pleasing visions, but the issue is nevertheless inevitable. I am not against this scheme *in toto*, but I am against that portion of it which seems to me inopportune and ruinous. As the Hon. Receiver General is not in his place, I will not attempt to follow him at length. He told us of the manner in which he had managed the department of Agriculture when he was at the head of it. He referred to explorations which he had ordered of the Lake St. John, and endeavoured to prove that I had been very unfortunate in respect to public roads, and plumed himself on the fact of his success in finding roads. Then he carried us to the Lake Temiscouata road, then to Mount Denis, where two nations have just shook hands through the mountain range which has long divided them, and he has told us of the construction of a railway over the same mountains to the Simplan, while the tunnel was being constructed beneath; all this to show that we need not be afraid of going into lavish expenses and great enterprises, and to prove that, if such extraordinary feats had been achieved, we were able to do as much. Taking his mode of arguing I could demonstrate that others have attempted more and had failed, and considering that this hon. gentleman's efficiency has been confined to the most pious

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duties of the Government of this country, and considering his peculiarities, I have, when passing through the library this morning, opened a book in which he certainly must have great confidence—the old Testament—and I may add that the first passage that struck my eye was a striking allegory which answers perfectly to his mode of arguing, and which is as follows: Genesis xi, verse 1-9, "And the whole earth was of one language and was of one speech, and it came to pass, as they journeyed from the East, that they found a plain in the land of Shinar, and they said, go to, let us build us a city and a town, whose top may reach unto heaven, and let us make us a name, lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth. And the Lord came down to see the city and the tower, and scattered them abroad upon the face of all the earth; and they left off to build the city; therefore, is the name of it called Babel, because the Lord did then confound the language of all the earth."

If this scheme is carried, it is very probable that the people of this Dominion will cause the members of the Government to be scattered upon the whole face of the Dominion, but provided the finances of this country are not scattered, there will be no cause for complaint.

I must thank you, hon. gentlemen, for your kind attention to my remarks in reply to the hon. gentlemen who have addressed this House on my amendment, and I do hope that this discussion will prove that this branch of the legislature is alive to the interests of the country, and that this Senate could not vote silently upon this amendment to these resolutions without failing in its duties.

Before I conclude I will simply say that I hope, whatever may be the result of the division on these resolutions, the House will believe that all who have spoken for or against them have been influenced by conscientious and patriotic motives, and that if I have made a mistake in bringing forward my amendment, my error must be considered one of judgment and not of oblivion to the true interests of my country (cheers)

The question of concurrence was then put on the amendment moved by Hon. Mr. Lettaller de St. Just; and the House divided as follows:—

CONTENTS:—The Hon. Messrs. Chaffers, Christie, Cormier, Dickson, Glasier, Leonard, Letellier de St. Just, McClelan, McMaster, Malhot, Odell, Olivier, Reesor Sanborn, Seymour, Simpson, Tessier, Wark, Wilmot, Wilson.—21.

NON-CONTENTS.—Aikins, Allan, Archi-

bald, Armand, Benson, Bill, Botsford, Bourinot, Burnham, Campbell, Chapais, Churchill, Dever, Dickey, Dumouchel, Ferrier, Flint, Foster, Guevremont, Hamilton (Inkerman), Hamilton (Kingston), Holmes, Kenny (Sir Edward), McDonald, McLelan, Macfarlane, MacPherson, Miller, Mitchell, Northup Panet, Perry, Read, Renaud, Ryan, Shaw, Skead, Smith.—39.

So it passed in the negative.

Hon. Mr. SANBORN then moved in amendment, seconded, by the Hon. Mr. REESOR, that all the words after "3 Resolved" be struck out and the following inserted.—"While this House desires the early union of British Columbia with the Dominion, and is prepared to adopt any plan, consistent with a prudent and fair estimate of the resources of this country, to secure this result, it cannot, with a due regard to our financial ability, concur in the terms set forth in said Address and Report imposing upon this Government the absolute obligation to secure the completion of a railway communication between the Pacific coast and the railway system of Canada."

The question of concurrence being put thereon, the House divided, and the names were taken down as follows:—

CONTENTS.—Hon. Messrs. Chaffers, Christie, Cormier, Dickson, Glasier, Leonard, Letellier de St. Just, McClelan, McMaster, Malhot, Odell, Olivier, Reesor, Sanborn, Seymour, Simpson, Steeves, Tessier, Wark, Wilmot, Wilson.—21.

NON-CONTENTS.—Hon. Messrs. Aikins, Allan, Archibald, Armand, Benson, Bill, Botsford, Bourinot, Burnham, Campbell, Chapais, Churchill, Dever, Dickey, Dumouchel, Ferrier, Flint, Foster, Guevremont, Hamilton (Inkerman), Hamilton (Kingston), Holmes, Kenny (Sir Edward), Lacoste, Macdonald, McLelan, Macfarlane, Macpherson, Miller, Mitchell, Northup, Panet, Perry, Read, Renaud, Ryan, Shaw, Skead, Smith.—39.

So it passed in the negative.

Hon. Mr. SANBORN moved in amendment, seconded by Hon. Mr. Leonard, that the said Resolutions be amended by inserting before the figure and the word "3. Resolved" the following Resolution:—

"That the Railway referred to in the said Address and approved report of the Committee of the Privy Council, should be constructed and worked by private enterprise, and not by the Dominion Government, and that the public aid to be given to secure that undertaking should consist of such liberal grants of land, and such subsidy and money, or other aid, not unduly pressing on the industry and resources of

the Dominion as the Parliament of Canada shall hereafter determine."

The question of concurrence being put thereon, the House divided, with the same result.—21 to 39.

So it passed in the negative.

The question being put on the main motion, the House divided, and the names were taken down as follows:

CONTENTS.—Hon. Messrs. Aikins, Allan, Archibald, Armand, Benson, Bill, Botsford, Bourinot, Burnham, Campbell, Chapais, Churchill, Dever, Dickey, Dumouchel, Ferrier, Flint, Foster, Guevremont, Hamilton (Inkerman), Hamilton (Kingston), Holmes, Kenny (St Edward), Laposte, McDonald, McLellan, Macfarlane, Macpherson, Miller, Mitchell, Northrup, Panet, Perry, Read, Ryan, Shaw, Skead, Smith.—38.

NOX CONTENTS.—Hon. Messrs. Chaffers, Christie, Cormier, Dickson, Glasier, Leonard, Letellier de St. Just, McGlelan, McMaster, Malhiot, Odell, Olivier, Reesor, Sanborn, Seymour, Simpson, Steeves, Tessier, Wark, Wilmot, Wilson.—21.

So it was resolved in the affirmative.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL then moved, seconded by the Hon. Mr. MITCHELL, That an Address embodying the said Resolutions be presented to Her Majesty, and a Select Committee composed of the Hon. Sir Edward Kenny, and the Hon. Messrs. Flint, Botsford, Dickey, Armand, and the mover, be appointed to draw up the said Address.

The motion was carried and the House was adjourned during pleasure.

After some time the House was resumed; and

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL reported from the Committee the following Address:

#### ADDRESS.

To the Queen's Excellent Majesty.

##### MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN:

We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Senate of *Canada* in Parliament assembled, humbly approach Your Majesty for the purpose of representing:—

That by a Despatch from the Governor of *British Columbia*, dated 23rd January, 1871, with other papers laid before this House by message from His Excellency the Governor General, of the 27th February last, this House learns that the Legislative Council of that Colony, in Council assembled, adopted in January last an Address representing to Your Majesty that *British Columbia* was prepared to enter into Union with the Dominion of *Canada*, upon the terms and conditions mentioned in the said Address, which is as follows:

To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty.

##### MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN:

We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Members of the Legislative Council of *British Columbia* in Council assembled, humbly approach Your Majesty for the purpose of representing:—

That, during the last Session of the late Legislative Council, the subject of the admission of the Colony of *British Columbia* into the Union or Dominion of *Canada* was taken into consideration, and a Resolution on the subject was agreed to, embodying the terms upon which it was proposed that this Colony should enter the Union;

That, after considerable discussion by the Delegates with the Members of the Government of the Dominion of *Canada*, the Terms and Conditions hereinafter specified were adopted by a Committee of the Privy Council of *Canada*, and were by them reported to the Governor General for his approval:

That such Terms were communicated to the Government of this Colony by the Governor General of *Canada*, in a Despatch dated July 7th, 1870, and are as follows:

1. *Canada* shall be liable for the Debts and Liabilities of *British Columbia* existing at the time of the Union.

2. *British Columbia* not having incurred debts equal to those of the other Provinces now constituting the Dominion, shall be entitled to receive by half yearly payments in advance from the General Government, interest at the rate of five per cent. per annum on the difference between the actual amount of its indebtedness at the date of the Union, and the indebtedness per head of the population of *Nova Scotia* and *New Brunswick*, \$27.77, the population of *British Columbia* being taken at 50,000.

3. The following sums shall be paid by *Canada* to *British Columbia* for the support of its Government and Legislature, to wit, an Annual Subsidy of \$35,000 and an Annual Grant equal to 80 cents per head of the said population of 50,000, both half-yearly in advance, such Grant of 80 cents per head to be augmented in proportion to the increase of population, as may be shown by each subsequent decennial census, until the population amounts to 400,000, at which rate such Grant shall thereafter remain, it being understood that the first census be taken in the year 1881.

4. The Dominion will provide an efficient mail service, fortnightly, by steam communication between *Victoria* and *San Francisco*, and twice a week between *Victoria* and *Olympia*; the vessels to be adapted for the conveyance of freight and passengers.

5. *Canada* will assume and defray the charges for the following services:—

A. Salary of the Lieutenant Governor;

B. Salaries and Allowances of the Judges of the Superior Courts and the County or District Courts;

C. The charges in respect to the Department of Customs;

D. The Postal and Telegraphic Services.

E. Protection and Encouragement of Fisheries;

F. Provision for the Militia;

G. Lighthouses, Buoys, and Beacons, Shipwrecked Crews, Quarries and Marine Hospitals, including a Marine Hospital at *Victoria*;

H. The Geological Survey;

I. The Penitentiary;

And such further charges as may be incident to and connected with the services which by the *British North America Act* of 1867 appertain to the General Government, and as are or may be allowed to the other Provinces.

6. Suitable Pensions, such as shall be approved of by Her Majesty's Government, shall be provided by the Government of the Dominion for those of Her Majesty's Servants in the Colony whose position and emoluments derived therefrom would be affected by political changes on the admission of *British Columbia* into the Dominion of *Canada*.

7. It is agreed that the existing Customs Tariff and Excise Duties shall continue in force in *British Columbia* until the Railway from the Pacific Coast and the system of Railways in *Canada* are connected, unless the Legislature of *British Columbia* should sooner decide to accept the Tariff and Excise Laws of *Canada*. When Customs and Excise Duties are, at the time of the Union of *British Columbia* with *Canada*, leviable on any

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Goods, Wares, or Merchandizes in British Columbia, or in the other Provinces of the Dominion, those Goods, Wares, and Merchandizes may, from and after the Union, be imported into British Columbia from the Provinces now comprising the Dominion, or from either of those Provinces into British Columbia, on proof of payment of the Customs or Excise Duties leviable thereon in the Province of Exportation, and on payment of such further amount (if any) of Customs or Excise Duties as are leviable now on goods imported into the Province of Importation. This arrangement to have no force or effect after the assimilation of the Tariff and Excise Duties of British Columbia with those of the Dominion.

3. British Columbia shall be entitled to be represented in the Senate by Three Members, and by Six Members in the House of Commons. The representation to be increased under the provisions of the *British North America Act, 1867*.

4. The influence of the Dominion Government will be used to secure the continued maintenance of the naval station at Esquimalt.

5. The provisions of the *British North America Act, 1867*, shall (except those parts thereof of which no terms made, or by reasonable intendment may be held to be specially applicable to the effect of, and not the whole of the Provinces now comprising the Dominion, and except so far as the same may be varied by this Minute) be applicable to British Columbia in the same way and to the like extent as they apply to the other Provinces of the Dominion, and as they apply to the Colony of British Columbia had been one of the Provinces originally united by the said Act.

6. The Government of the Dominion undertake to secure the commencement simultaneously, within two years from the date of Union, of the construction of a Railway from the Pacific to the Rocky Mountains, and from such point as may be selected, East of the Rocky Mountains, towards the Pacific, to connect the sea-board of British Columbia with the Railway system of Canada; and further, to secure the completion of such Railway within ten years from the date of the Union.

And the Government of British Columbia agree to convey to the Dominion Government, in trust, to be appropriated in such manner as the Dominion Government may deem advisable in furtherance of the construction of the said Railway, a similar extent of Public Lands along the line of Railway throughout its entire length in British Columbia, not to exceed, however, twenty (20) miles on each side of the said line, as may be appropriated for the same purpose by the Dominion Government from the Public Lands in the North West Territories and the Province of Manitoba. Provided that the quantity of land which may be held under Pre-emption right or by Crown Grant within the limits of the tract of land in British Columbia to be so conveyed to the Dominion Government shall be made good to the Dominion from contiguous Public Lands; and provided further, that until the commencement, within two years, as aforesaid, from the date of the Union, of the construction of the said Railway, the Government of British Columbia shall not sell or alienate any further portions of the Public Lands under right of Pre-emption, requiring actual residence of the Pre-emptor on the land claimed by him. In consideration of the land to be so conveyed in aid of the construction of the said Railway, the Dominion Government agree to pay to British Columbia from the date of the Union, the sum of \$100,000 per annum, in half yearly payments in advance.

7. The Dominion Government shall guarantee the interest for ten years from the date of the completion of the works, at the rate of five per centum per annum, on such sum, not exceeding £100,000 sterling, as may be required for the construction of a first-class graving dock at Esquimalt.

8. The charge of the Indians, and the trusteeship and management of the lands reserved for their use and benefit, shall be assumed by the Dominion Government, and a policy as liberal as that hitherto pursued by the British Columbia

Government shall be continued by the Dominion Government after the Union.

To carry out such policy, tracts of land of such extent as it has hitherto been the practice of the British Columbia Government to appropriate for that purpose, shall from time to time be conveyed by the Local Government to the Dominion Government in trust for the use and benefit of Indians on application of the Dominion Government; and in case of disagreement between the two Governments respecting the quantity of such tracts, and to be so granted, the matter shall be referred to the decision of the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

9. The constitution of the Executive Authority and of the Legislature of British Columbia shall, subject to the provisions of the *British North America Act, 1867*, continue as existing at the time of the Union until altered under the authority of the said Act, it being at the same time understood that the Government of the Dominion will readily consent to the introduction of responsible Government when desired by the Inhabitants of British Columbia; and it being likewise understood that it is the intention of the Government of British Columbia to transfer the Secretary of State for the Colonies, to amend the existing Constitution of the Legislature by providing that a majority of its Members shall be elective.

The Union shall take effect according to the foregoing terms and conditions on such day as Her Majesty by and with the advice of Her Most Honourable Privy Council may appoint (not by Resolves from the Legislature of the Colony of British Columbia and of the Houses of Parliament of Canada in the terms of the 14th section of the *British North America Act, 1867*), and British Columbia may in its address specify the electoral districts for which the first election of members to serve in the House of Commons shall take place.

That such terms have proved generally acceptable to the people of this Colony.

That this Council is, therefore, willing to enter into Union with the Dominion of Canada upon such terms, and humbly submit that, under the circumstances, it is expedient that the admission of this Colony into such Union, as aforesaid, should be effected at as early a date as may be found practicable under the provisions of the 14th section of the *British North America Act, 1867*.

We, therefore, humbly pray that Your Majesty will be graciously pleased, by and with the advice of Your Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, under the Provisions of the 14th section of the *British North America Act, 1867*, to admit British Columbia into the Union or Dominion of Canada on the basis of the terms and conditions offered to this Colony by the Government of the Dominion of Canada, hereinbefore set forth; and inasmuch as by the said terms British Columbia is empowered in its Address to specify the electoral districts for which the first election of Members to serve in the House of Commons shall take place, we humbly pray that such electoral districts may be declared, under the Order in Council, to be as follows:-

That "New Westminster District" and "Coast District" as defined in a public notice issued from the Lands and Works Office on the 15th day of December, 1869, by the desire of the Governor, and purporting to be in accordance with the provisions of the 3rd clause of the "Mineral Ordinance, 1869," shall constitute one district, to be designated "New Westminster District" and return one Member.

That "Cariboo District" and "Lillooet District" as specified in the said public notice, shall constitute one District, to be designated "Cariboo District," and return One Member.

That "Yale District," and "Kootenay District," as specified in the said public notice, shall constitute one district, to be designated "Yale District," and return One Member.

That those portions of Vancouver Island known as "Victoria District," "Esquimalt District," and



within the limits of the tract of land in British Columbia to be so conveyed to the Dominion Government, shall be made good to the Dominion from contiguous lands, and provided further, that until the commencement, within two years as aforesaid from the date of the Union, of the construction of the said railway, the Government of British Columbia shall not sell or alienate any further portion of the public lands of British Columbia in any other way than under right of pre-emption, requiring actual residence of the pre-emptor on the land claimed by him. In consideration of the land to be so conveyed in aid of the construction of the said railway, the Dominion Government agree to pay to British Columbia, from the date of the Union, the sum of \$100,000 per annum, in half-yearly payments in advance.

12. The Dominion Government shall guarantee the interest for ten years from the date of the completion of the works at the rate of five per centum per annum on such sum, not exceeding \$100,000 sterling, as may be required for the construction of a first-class graving dock at Esquimalt.

13. The charge of the Indians and the trusteeship and management of the lands reserved for their use and benefit, shall be assumed by the Dominion Government, and a policy as liberal as that hitherto pursued by the British Columbia Government, shall be continued by the British Columbia Government after the Union. To carry out such policy, tracts of land of such extent as it has hitherto been the practice of the British Columbia Government to appropriate for that purpose, shall from time to time be conveyed by the Local Government to the Dominion Government in trust for the use and benefit of the Indians, on application of the Dominion Government, and in case of disagreement between the two Governments respecting the quantity of such tracts of land to be so granted, the matter shall be referred for the decision of the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

14. The constitution of the Executive authority and of the Legislature of British Columbia shall,

subject to the provisions of the British North America Act, 1867, continue as existing at the time of the Union until altered under the authority of said Act, it being at the same time understood that the Government of the Dominion will readily consent to the introduction of responsible government when desired by the inhabitants of British Columbia, and it being likewise understood that it is the intention of the Governor of British Columbia, under the authority of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, to amend the existing constitution of the Legislature by providing that a majority of its members shall be elective.

The Union shall take effect, according to the foregoing terms and conditions, on such day as Her Majesty, by and with the advice of Her Most Honourable Privy Council may appoint (on addresses from the Legislature of the Colony of British Columbia and of the Houses of the Parliament of Canada, in the terms of the 146th section of the British North America Act, 1867), and British Columbia may in its address specify the electoral districts for which the first election of members to serve in the House of Commons shall take place.

(Certified,) WM. H. LEE,  
Clerk Privy Council.

We further humbly represent that we concur in the terms and conditions of Union set forth in the said Address, and approved Report of the Committee of the Privy Council above mentioned; and most respectfully pray that Your Majesty will be graciously pleased, by and with the advice of Your Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, under the 146th clause of "The British North America Act, 1867," to unite British Columbia with the Dominion of Canada, on the terms and conditions above set forth.

The House then took up the Orders of the Day, and having gone through them, adjourned.

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